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Fine Roman Dining at Affordable Pompeian Prices: A New Evaluation of the Non-Domestic Gardens of Pompeii

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Fine Roman Dining at Affordable Pompeian Prices: A New Evaluation of the Non-Domestic Gardens of Pompeii

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By

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Introduction

In the study of Roman gardens, the boundaries between gardens designed primarily for pleasure and those devoted to produce are not as clear as scholars have previously assumed. Instead, gardens in the Roman world were multi-functional spaces, and commercial gardens, which have received less attention in scholarship, could be just as aesthetically pleasing and pleasurable to experience as the more visible peristyle gardens within elite Roman houses. Previous scholarship has not provided a clear definition of what constitutes a commercial garden. The generic understanding of a commercial garden is a garden that is connected to a non-domestic setting that cultivated produce. This definition places commercial gardens in the *negotium* (work) category, and therefore scholarship has not determined these spaces worth extensive research. Scholarship has tended to favor elaborate and large houses over shop, which amounts to favoring *otium* (leisure) and ignoring *negotium.*

I define a commercial garden as a garden clearly linked to a business, whose facilities would have been used for work-oriented activities or would have been accessible to the public, often, we may assume, for a price. The new methodology of Roman gardens presented in this thesis allows for a more holistic analysis of garden spaces, which reveals that these commercial gardens have coinciding qualities and functions with private elite gardens. This discovery challenges the assumption that non-domestic, commercial gardens only have qualities indicative of *negotium*. For the purpose of this research, the definition of *otium* and *negotium* are the generic

understandings of the terms. *Otium* is the concept of leisure, which allows a person to relax, eat, play, and even contemplate academic matters. *Otium* also is considered a state of peace or tranquility. Leisure allows for time away from business or work, which has encouraged scholars to connect *otium* to the elite class in Roman society. *Negotium* is the opposite of *otium,* which is time dedicated to work. It can also be considered commercial or industrial activities as well as anything that is an annoyance or distress.[1] These definitions are very generic and have often encouraged a binary approach to the study of Roman archaeology. Previous scholarship has designated Roman gardens into *otium* or *negotium;* however, this research on Roman gardens suggests that these concepts often overlap and exists in the same space simultaneously.

The presence of a private peristyle garden devoted to leisure started as an elite status symbol in the mid-Republican period. In fact, peristyle gardens start to appear in Roman houses around the 2nd c BCE.[2] By the Imperial period, however, the association of *otium* with gardens was spreading to all levels of society. The trickle-down effect may be linked to the construction of large public Imperial gardens in Rome in the 1st c BCE. Pompey's portico gardens at his theatre (55 BCE) were innovative in blurring the lines between public and private space by symbolically inviting the public into his "home" to enjoy his "private" garden spaces.[3] I argue that this phenomenon is reflected also in the archaeological record at Pompeii. Since the general public could not afford gardens in their homes, businesses were actively incorporating gardens into their commercial premises to offer an easily accessible "elite *otium* in the garden" experience. Although

[1] Definitions pulled from *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. For more on this, see Leach 2003, 148.
[2] Jashemski 2018, 81
[3] Russel 2016

scholars associate market-gardens, 'repurposed' peristyle gardens, and aesthetic gardens in commercial premises with *negotium*, my research on Roman gardens shows how *otium* and *negotium* are often blurred in commercial and industrial oriented garden spaces, highlighting the important contributions these green spaces made to the lives of non-elite Romans at Pompeii.

The emulation of elite culture and its status symbols is not a new phenomenon, but it has not been fully explored in relation to commercial gardens.[4] Many of the commercial gardens in Pompeii were only partially uncovered or not extensively studied during excavations. The general neglect of a systemic study of commercial gardens is reflected by the lack of attention in scholarship on these spaces. Therefore, the influences of elite practice on commercial gardens have yet to be noted in any research. W. Jashemski's pioneering work in the late 20th century produced a systematic study of the archaeological remains of garden spaces at Pompeii, where a good amount of palaeobotanical evidence was preserved by the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 CE. Her work was the first to include a discussion of so-called 'market gardens' that were largely identified by the presence of root-cavities that belonged to productive plants like fruit trees and vines.[5] These gardens produced fruit to help provide the population of Pompeii with some local food-stuff, but the proprietors also invested in dining couches and pergola, features associated with elite *otium*.[6] The evidence also shows that some peristyle gardens in elite houses were later repurposed for production (e.g., tannery and *fullonica*). In addition, we can find evidence of smaller aesthetic gardens in commercial

[4] Clarke 2003, 15-17, 272-274
[5] Jashemski 1979, 1993
[6] For the role of urban horticulture in food supply see Watts 2015, 54.

premises like inns and taverns at Pompeii, which primarily serviced non-elite groups. The private garden spaces in elite houses and villas influenced the demand for public gardens that incorporate aesthetic qualities into productive spaces.

Late Republican and Early Imperial Views on Roman Gardens

To provide a point of reference for my analysis, I will first outline some of the general qualities of Roman gardens, as revealed by literary sources and art historical evidence from the 1st c BCE to 2nd c CE. Although these categories of evidence are closely associated with elite culture, commercial gardens included many of the same elements and features, indicating widely shared conceptions of urban garden design and use in Roman society during the early Imperial period. The evidence analyzed in this section suggests that gardens were viewed by Romans as ideal locations for dinner parties, rest and relaxation, and religious contemplation.

Multiple Roman authors from the 1st c BCE to the 2nd c CE reflect the elite Roman view of garden spaces. Virgil and Columella both focus on the "sense of sanctity" or the divine presence that is found in wild groves or forest. Virgil devotes a lot of his *Georgics* to describing the "sacred wild grove" as a *locus amoenus*.[7] The art historical evidence discussed in this thesis also suggests that elite Romans tried to recreate the Virgilian ideal sacred grove in the gardens of their urban homes, perhaps as a way to escape into nature without having to actually leave the city. Columella's *De Re Rustica* (1st c CE) reflects the Romans' admiration of cultivated gardens. The poem refers to the gods, Bacchus, Pan, and Silvanus many times, attributing the abundance and beauty of

[7] Virgil *Georgics,* 2.138, "Pleasant place"

nature to their divine powers.[8] Unsurprisingly, these gods were commonly depicted in the decorative elements found in the Pompeian gardens in my survey, offering the people using these spaces a chance for a divine epiphany that may have transported the viewer into untamed nature.

Certain plants, especially trees such as oak, laurel, myrtle and others attested in the art historical and archaeological evidence of gardens at Pompeii, are associated with specific gods in Roman mythology, and consequently, when Romans encountered these plants in the gardens, they may have attached a sacred symbolism to them. To sum, Columella and Virgil both emphasize through their work that Romans viewed gardens as places to encounter and commune with the divine. This belief is, of course, reinforced by the presence of *lararia* (shrines) in gardens of Pompeii.

Gardens also offered a multisensorial experience that included sweet smells, cool shade, quietude, and aesthetic views, which would have been a welcome escape from the crowded, loud, and dirty streets in most Roman cities. In fact, just as cities today incorporate community gardens, parks, and greenways into their urban environments to benefit their population, Romans seem to have been doing something similar.[9] Virgil's reference to orchards and vineyards can help us understand how market-oriented gardens found in the topology of Pompeii could have offered benefits beyond the value of their produce, such as shade, space for relaxation and socializing, a decrease in noise and air pollution, and other aesthetic qualities. Vitruvius regarded gardens in urban settings as beneficial because "air from greenery is rarefied and removes the thick humor from the

[8] Columella *De Re Rustica,* 10. 2, 237-238, 428, etc.
[9] Wolf 2017

eyes, improving vision, as well as removing other humors from the body."[10] As will be discussed below, some of the gardens in inns and taverns at Pompeii left behind evidence of shade trees, and gardens in shop-houses at Pompeii with evidence of large-scale industry may have improved working conditions for laborers by increasing air circulation and filtering foul odors with trees or other types of plants.

Between the Late Republic and Early Imperial period, different foreign fruit and vegetables were incorporated in Roman diet due to the expansion of the empire.[11] According to Jashemski, fruit cultivation became "a profitable experimentation."[12] Varro described the entire Italic peninsula as one whole *pomarium* (orchard), which attest to the wide-spread integration of orchards and vineyards in private and public settings.[13] It is unsurprising that Roman garden frescoes, which become fashionable during this same time, seem to recreate the scenes of flourishing fruit trees and wildlife described in the literary sources. The garden room of the Villa of Livia at Prima Porta (1st c BCE), adorned with flourishing plants and wildlife, transports the viewer into an imaginative grove of the type described by Virgil:

> *Poma quoque, ut primum truncos sensere valentis*
> *et viris habuere suas, ad sidera raptim*
> *vi propria nituntur opisque haud indiga nostrae.*
> *Nec minus interea fetu nemus omne gravescit.*[14]

The fresco in Livia's garden room offers the illusion of a wild, untamed garden, but the scene also has features like fences and bird baths that indicate some form of

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[10] Vitruvius *De Architectura,* 4.9.5
[11] Termin 2001, 224
[12] Jashemski 2018, 140
[13] Varro *Rerum Rusticarum,* 1.2.6
[14] Virgil *Georgics,* 2.426-430: "Fruit trees, too, so soon as they feel their stems firm, and come to their strength, swiftly push forth skyward with inborn force, needing no help from us. No less, meanwhile, does every wood grow heavy with fruit, and the birds' wild haunts blush with crimson berries." Translations are by the translator of the Loeb Classical Library.

human cultivation and maintenance (Fig. I). Although the plants depicted bloom in different seasons, in the fresco they bloom harmoniously together in an eternal spring, a motif of Augustan ideology that symbolizes the renewal and prosperity promised under the *Pax Augusta*. This symbolism would have been appreciated and understood by the viewers.[15]

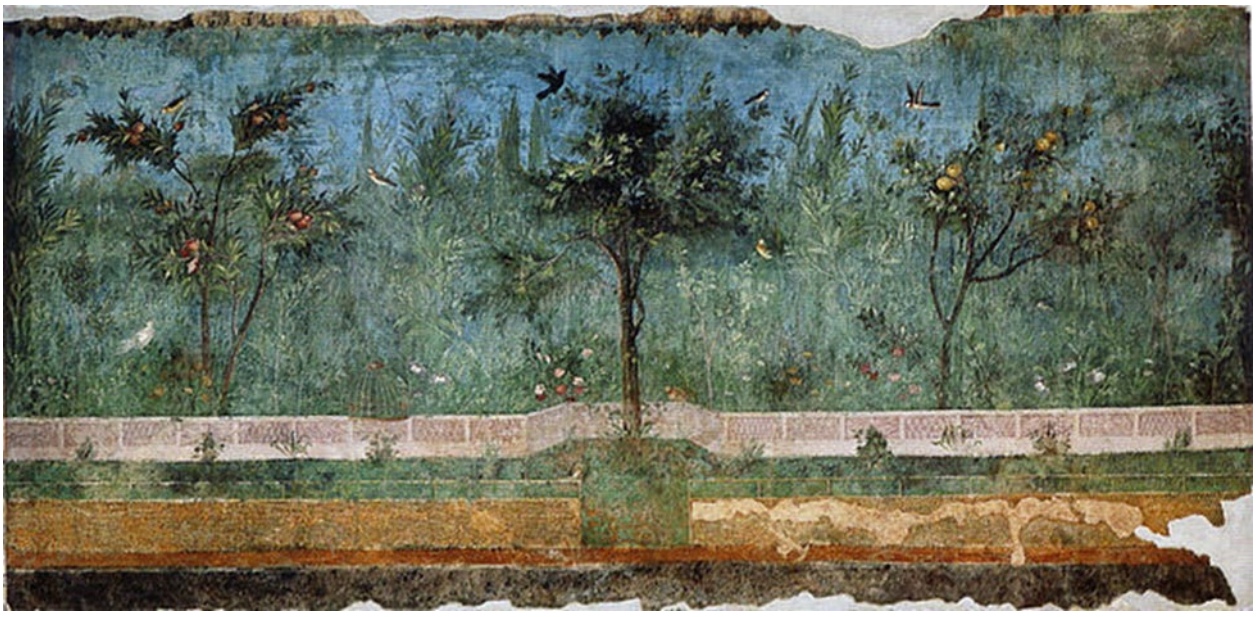

Figure I: Fresco from the Villa of Livia, Prima Porta (1st c BCE) (milestonerome.com).

Scholars identified the garden room as a subterranean *triclinium* (dining room) that the household and guests would have used for dining. Evidence of a pergola, perhaps where a *triclinium* was positioned, was found in the physical garden of the villa. This dining facility was probably used by the household to dine and relax in the physical garden when weather permitted.[16] The choice to decorate the *triclinium* with the garden fresco highlights the close association of dining activities with the garden in elite household. When the weather would not allow Livia and her guests to eat outside in the

[15] Caneva 2003, 151; Kellum 1994, 222
[16] Bargmann 2018, 228

physical garden, they could enjoy the simulated reality of dining outside in an orchard while comfortable inside.

Garden frescoes were also appearing in the houses at Pompeii in the 1st c CE, as seen in the House of the Fruit Orchards (1.9.5-7), one of the more ornate houses on the *via dell'Abbondanza,* Pompeii's busiest thoroughfare. The house contains two *cubicula* (bedrooms) with garden frescoes that mimic the style seen in the garden room of the Villa of Livia.[17] All the walls of the rooms are covered in the garden scene and give the viewer the impression that they are seated inside a pergola, a structure found in elite villa gardens that were often used for dining and relaxing (Fig. II, III). While dense gardens full of fruit trees, shrubs, flowers, and wildlife fill both scenes, the frescoes also incorporate architectural features such as pergolas and decorative features like marble birdbaths, statues, and painted plaques.[18] The decorations suggest that these rooms were high-value destinations within the house, used regularly for more than just sleeping. Perhaps these rooms were also enjoyed during meals when weather did not permit the household to dine in their small peristyle garden. Since the rooms open out to the garden, they in a sense also work to expand the physical garden, expanding the green space into the residence. These simulated gardens and the physical gardens found in private houses and villas suggest the importance of the garden experience to elite society.

[17] For more on *cubicula* see Riggsby 1997.
[18] Jashemski 1993, 317

Figure II, III: Fresco from the House of the Fruit Orchards room a (top) and b (bottom), Pompeii (1st c CE) (pompeiiinpictures.com).

These garden illustrations can give us an idea of what plant species filled private and public gardens in Roman cities like Pompeii. Romans were innovative with their garden spaces and often practiced mixed cultivation, as seen in these frescoes and the palaeobotanical evidence recovered from Pompeii (e.g., I.12.8, I.15.3, I.21.2).[19] The garden rooms in the House of the Fruit Orchards contain the following:

[19] Hyperlink to catalogs found under Appendix.

- Room a: myrtle trees, laurel trees, oleander trees, viburnum bushes, ivy, roses, poppies, lemon trees, cherry trees, and strawberry bushes (Fig. IV).[20]
- Room b: Oleander trees, viburnum bushes, fig-trees, pear trees, pomegranate trees, cherry trees, and an assortment of plum trees (Fig. V).
- Room b: The vaulted ceiling has evidence of a fresco depicting grapevine.[21]

Figure IV: Detail of Oleander tree and bird in garden fresco of the House of the Fruit Orchards room a, Pompeii (1st c CE) (PIP).

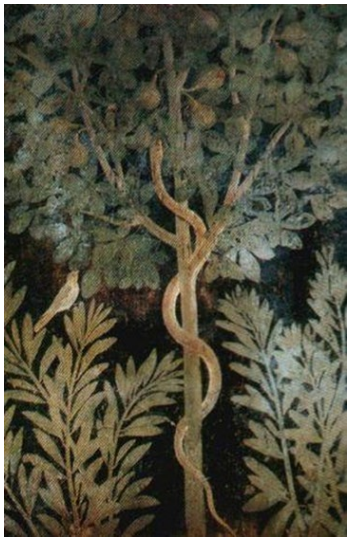

Figure V: Detail of Fig tree, bushes, bird, and snake in garden fresco of the House of the Fruit Orchards room b, Pompeii (1st c CE) (PIP).

[20] Jashemski 1993, 318-320
[21] Jashemski 1993, 320-322

Productive trees seem to take precedence over decorative plants in these frescoes, and, in fact, we find some of the same fruit trees (fig, cherries, etc.) that were being cultivated at the large commercial orchard discovered by Jashemski within the same region of Pompeii (I.22). This mix of plant life depicted in the frescoes emphasizes an interest in both aesthetic and productive plants as well as the aesthetic value elites placed on productive plants, a concept that has not been carefully studied.

Pliny the Younger's famous description of his villa includes references to gardens and room décor that seem similar to some of the gardens at Pompeii and the garden frescoes found in the House of the Fruit Orchards.[22] Pliny mentions a *cubiculum* with a fresco "of birds perched on the branches of trees."[23] This space could have been used to dine and relax in the shade while also enjoying the view of the cultivated vineyard. Pliny also mentions a built structure, that lacks the decoration but provides a full view of the garden space: "Here you can lie and imagine you are in a wood, but without the risk of rain."[24] This structure appears to be a marble pergola which is open to the garden through its many windows and wide door. This space could have been used to dine and relax in the shade while also enjoying the view of the cultivated vineyard.

The *cubiculium* and the pergola mentioned in Pliny's letters correspond with the evidence found in the frescoes of the House of the Fruit Orchards. The household and guests may have used the two *cubicula* in the private residence to experience the simulated sensation of relaxing in a pergola surrounded by a beautiful forest. Cultivated gardens in private and public spheres were becoming a visible part of Rome's topography

[22] Pliny the Younger *Epistulae,* 5.6
[23] Pliny the Younger *Epistulae,* 5.6.22
[24] Pliny the Younger *Epistulae,* 5.6.39

and art. Depictions of gardens that have been previously associated with *negotium* are being admired and enjoyed in interior spaces for *otium*. Therefore, we should consider that physical cultivated gardens, while also producing fruits, nuts, and vegetables, can also be used as *otium* for the pleasant shade, scents, sounds, and tastes.

The literary and art historical evidence reflect that gardens were used for dining, rest and relaxation, and worshipping. However, limiting the analysis of Roman gardens to literary and art historical evidence makes for an analysis exclusively focused on elite Roman society. By extending this analysis to the survey of non-domestic, commercial gardens, we find the same evidence of *otium* that has been overwhelmingly associated with private, elite garden spaces. The survey of non-domestic gardens in this thesis shows that non-elite Romans used commercial gardens for *otium* just as elite members of society did in their own gardens.

Roman Garden Scholarship History

Traditionally, scholars have taken a binary approach to the study of Roman urban horticulture by placing gardens into categories, such as pleasure or productive, private or public, urban or rural. Recent scholarship has shown that these categories are not always static, rather they often overlap along an ambiguous borderland. However, the focus in scholarship remains on private gardens like those found in peristyles of elite houses and villas, thus perpetuating the identification of *otium* with the lives of the elite.

Modern scholarship on Roman gardens started in the mid-20th century with P. Grimal's *Les Jardins Romains,* a four-volume work that looks at the 1st and 2nd c CE

Roman gardens.[25] His second volume identifies gardens as private or public based on the architecture and art found within the garden. He provides a topological survey of Roman gardens in the late Republic and early Imperial periods. He separates the gardens identified as private into two chapters within the second volume, one of which focuses on the Republic period and the other on the Imperial period. The third chapter of the second volume in Grimal's work focuses on public gardens. Grimal concentrates on gardens associated with elite society. Many of the gardens in the private and public surveys are gardens associated with political figures such as Julius and Augustus Caesar, Pompey, Claudia, Agrippa, as well as other historical figures. He focuses on these gardens because he works primarily with literary evidence as opposed to archaeological evidence. The focus on these gardens, associated with elite society, does not give us an idea of how all Romans viewed gardens. The division of gardens into public-versus-private binary categories has limited interpretations about who could use these spaces and the sorts of activities that took place in them.

Jashemski's work on Pompeian gardens was published in two volumes in 1979 and 1993. *The Gardens of Pompeii* is a catalog of every excavated garden in the Vesuvian area and garden-inspired paintings in the Roman world.[26] Unlike Grimal's work, Jashemski did not place these gardens into categories or binary designations. Instead, her index organizes excavations' histories and evidence found in identified gardens in Pompeii by region, *insula*, and entrance number. Scholarship on Roman gardens has always gravitated toward Pompeii because the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius

[25] Grimal 1969
[26] Jashemski 1979, 1993

resulted in a remarkable level of preservation on site. Gardens outside of the Vesuvian area are not as well preserved, and even at Pompeii recovering evidence of organic plant-life is not easy. Jashemski, however, developed an innovative excavation technique called the "root-cast method," which involves removing the lapilli, or lava rock from the cavity, cleaning the cavity to reveal the root system, and filling the cavity with cement that was supported with wire. When the cast dries, it is carefully removed to be analyzed. Her technique makes it possible to uncover root systems to identify the species of plants and the spatial organization of the plantings in gardens. Careful excavation strategies also allowed Jashemski to detect ancient pollen, seeds, and carbonized plants and food found in gardens, evidence that helped to determine what type of plants were being grown and harvested at the time of the eruption. This high-resolution evidence inspires a new interest in and enthusiasm for the study of Roman gardens.

In the 21st century, scholarship has focused on the experience of gardens and how Romans viewed and understood these spaces through material and literary evidence. Von Stackelberg's work is the first comprehensive study of ancient Roman gardens to combine literary and archaeology evidence with the theories and methods of space syntax. Her study is an important contribution that analyses the development of the function of Roman gardens and the experience of *otium* within them.[27] While recent studies still focus on gardens associated with domestic and/or elite contexts, scholars have acknowledged the multifunctional nature of gardens.[28] For instance, while C. Bannon's book *Gardens and Neighbors* focuses on private water rights in Roman Italy,

[27] von Stackelberg 2009
[28] Simelius 2018

she also discusses the overlapping functionality of different types of gardens. Present scholarship recognizes that gardens incorporate can incorporate features and behaviors associated with *otium* while still being "the center of productivity", meaning the garden was a space for both work and play.[29]

Chapter Summaries

Commercially oriented gardens have yet to be systematically studied due to their productive functions, which associate them with *negotium* and the manual labor of non-elite Romans. To address this issue, I started to compile a catalog of every garden space identified at Pompeii. Due to the time constraints on this thesis project, I have limited my study to Regios I and VI.[30] Regio VI was excavated at an earlier time, during the 18th century. The methods used and pioneered by Jashemski were not available to be used by archaeologists during the excavation of Regio VI. Therefore, the palaeobotanical evidence in Regio VI was not uncovered and recorded during the excavations. The earliest excavations in Regio I started in the middle of the 19th century continued into the end of 20th century. By this time, Jashemski was working with many of the gardens in Regio I and using the root-cast method and pollen sampling to uncover the palaeobotanical evidence in these gardens.

After compiling and analyzing the gardens from Regios I and VI, I noted that public, commercial gardens shared many of the same features as private, domestic garden

[29] Bannon 2009, 9
[30] Gleason 2013, 5. *The Gardens of the Roman Empire Project* directed by Dr. Kathryn Gleason is currently working on making all documented and identified Roman Gardens accessible in a public database. I have been asked to contribute this work to the database. Hyperlink to database in in Appendix.

spaces, suggesting that these spaces were multifunctional and that a wider percentage of society than previously thought had access to gardens for leisure activities, which begins to challenge the association of *otium* exclusively with the elite, a narrow slice of Pompeii's population. This realization helped focus the rest of my project, which integrates the archaeological and palaeobotanical evidence with the textual sources and visual evidence into an analysis that explores the different functions, activities, and cultural meanings of commercial gardens in Pompeii.

Chapter Two outlines my methodology for creating the garden catalogs and offers a general survey of the material remains that were used to organize the catalogs. Working with Jashemski's data and referencing Pompeii in Pictures, I organized the gardens of each region into five groups based on the features found within each garden space (cisterns, altars, masonry *triclinia,* etc.). By interpreting the plant evidence alongside the preserved architectural and decorative features in the gardens, I believe it is possible to construct a more nuanced understanding of the different types of activities that were likely taking place in these spaces. Since my methodology groups gardens according to shared features, the categories cut across traditional public and private or productive and aesthetic designations, which will enable me to draw connections between the gardens found in different types of structures.

Chapters Three and Four focus on the gardens in the catalogs that are associated with non-domestic spaces. Shop-houses incorporated into private residences, *tabernae* (tavern), *hospitia* (inn), *lupanaria* (brothel), and other types of commercial or industrial spaces had and maintained productive gardens, defined as gardens with the ability to grow produce, including vegetables, herbs, and fruit to either eat or sell locally. Certain

features found in these gardens (irrigation systems, palaeobotanical evidence, etc.) indicate that they were able to grow small-to-large-scale produce.[31] These gardens also maintained decorative elements and dining features, which reveals the coincidence of qualities associated with *otium* and *negotium*, qualities that have previously been considered mutually exclusive. A holistic investigation of the evidence in these gardens will reveal how these spaces were used and enjoyed outside of their productive designation.

Chapter Three looks closely at the gardens identified in shop-houses from Regios I and VI in the catalogs. In addition to discussing features indicative of *negotium*, my analysis also compares features found in these gardens to similar features considered *otium* that are found in private gardens. The evidence in this survey suggests that while these gardens were certainly used for work or business-oriented activities, they also maintained aesthetic qualities often associated with elite gardens in order to make the garden spaces pleasurable for work and rest.

Chapter Four provides a detailed evaluation of commercial gardens identified in the catalogs that also have evidence of dining features. This survey reveals that commercial gardens were commodifying an 'elite' experience for non-elite groups in society by providing dining facilities in the garden spaces. Gardens identified for their productive or public qualities have evidence of activities more often associated with elite society. Businesses in Pompeii appear to have been marketing the 'elite' experience in their gardens to attract customers by combining *otium* with *negotium.*

[31] Small-scale, medium-scale, and large-scale are relative to the amount of produce that is possible to grow within the city limits of Pompeii.

In conclusion, my work highlights that a more holistic approach to commercial gardens is needed in order to appreciate the role they had in shaping the urban experiences of the non-elites in Roman society. My garden catalogs are currently being used by the Virtual Pompeii Project to guide evidence-based reconstructions of garden spaces in 3D models of Roman houses at Pompeii. Whereas previous scholarship has associated non-domestic gardens with *negotium*, their capacity for also including *otium* has largely been ignored in scholarship. My survey indicates that commercial gardens at Pompeii did contain architectural and decorative features reflective of *otium*, which may suggest that business-owners were capitalizing on their green spaces to make gardens a more pleasant environment to work and relax and also to market elite experiences to non-elite groups in Roman society.

CHAPTER TWO: THE GARDEN CATALOGS: CONSTRUCTING A NEW METHDOLOGY FOR ROMAN GARDEN SCHOLARSIHP

Introduction

I initially created the garden catalogs to compile the archaeological and art historical evidence from gardens in Regio I and Regio VI of Pompeii so that the Virtual Pompeii Project could design more accurate 3D reconstructions of Roman gardens. These catalogs, influenced by the work of Grimal and Jashemski, allow for evidence-based analysis to assist with the productive reconstruction of Pompeian gardens. To create these catalogs, I started with the evidence compiled in Jashemski's garden appendix. Her appendix focused on listing the botanical evidence preserved as well as descriptions of the archaeological and art evidence found within the gardens of Pompeii. I expanded my catalog to include new discoveries of infrastructure and architectural features to incorporate all current evidence in the analysis of the gardens of Regio I and VI (Fig. VI, see also links to online catalogs in Appendix).

GROUP A	GROUP B	GROUP C	GROUP D	GROUP E
1.2.6	1.3.20	1.3.3	1.2.10	1.2.3
1.2.16	1.4.5/25 c	1.4.5/25 a	**1.2.20**	1.2.15
1.2.17 b	**1.6.7**	1.7.10-12/19 b	**1.2.24**	**1.2.17 a**
I.3.23	1.6.11	**1.10.10-11**	1.2.28	1.3.25 a
1.4.5/25 b	1.8.2/19	1.11.6	1.5.2 a	1.3.25 b
1.4.9	1.8.5	1.11.15/9	1.6.2/16 b	1.4.22
1.6.15	1.8.14	1.12.6	1.7.1	1.5.2 b
1.7.7	1.9.5	**1.12.8 a**	1.7.10-12/19 a	1.6.2/16 a
1.11.5/8	1.10.4/14-17 c	1.15.3 a	**1.7.16**	1.7.2-3
1.11.12	1.11.14 a	1.15.3 b	1.8.9	**1.8.10**
1.12.11	1.12.8 b	**1.20.5**	1.10.4/14-17 a	1.9.13-14
1.12.16	**1.12.14**		1.10.7	1.10.4/14-17 b
1.17.4	1.16.2 a		**1.11.10-11**	1.10.8
			1.11.16	1.11.14 b
			1.12.15 a	1.12.15 b
			1.13.2	1.13.7
			1.13.16	1.13.12-14 a
			1.14.1, 11-15	1.13.12-14 b
			1.14.2	1.14.7
			1.16.2 b	
			1.20.1	
			1.21.2, 6	
			1.21.3	
			1.22.	

Figure VI: Garden catalog for Regio VI showing gardens organized into the six color coded groups.

After surveying the evidence for 79 gardens in Regio I and 59 gardens in Regio VI, I broke the gardens into five groupings based on commonality of features. These features help answer questions regarding activities (production, leisure, worship, dining, etc.) and plant life (flora, herbs, vegetables, trees, etc.). Each group has a spectrum of potential activities and plants that were likely present in these spaces. While the original purpose of the catalogs was to assist in the reconstruction of garden spaces, my analysis of the evidence highlighted some interesting patterns. One clear pattern is that gardens were multifunctional spaces as seen by the similarity of features found in private and public garden spaces. I also noted that similar activities, like dining, were taking place in gardens across the socioeconomic spectrum. This realization inspired my analysis of *otium* and *negotium* in shop-house and commercial garden spaces in the second half of this thesis. Before addressing the survey of shop-house and commercial garden spaces of Regio I and VI, this chapter will summarize and define the categories and groups found within the catalogs and what they indicate regarding activities as well as plant life that were likely present in the gardens.

The Garden Catalogs

There are five categories which determine a garden's group designation in my catalog: water infrastructure, decorative water features, architectural features, art features, and dining features. This section will define each category and explain why features are placed within a certain category. (Fig. VII, VIII).

Garden	Water Infrastructure Features	Decorative Water Feature	Architectural Features	Decorative Art Features	Dining Features
	Gutter, Cistern, Irrigation, Water Reservoir, Basin	Fountain, Pool	Altar, Raised Bed, Table	Mosaics, Frescoes (preserved: poor, fair, destroyed, good)	*Triclinium*, Pergola
GROUP A	**1-2 (only gutter, cistern)**	**0-2**	**0-2**	**0-3**	**0**
1.2.6	gutter, cistern	pool			
1.2.16	gutter		altar	sculpture (man sitting with scroll, identified as Greek philosopher, Antisthenes)	
1.2.17 b	gutter		altar	sculpture (base)	
I.3.23	gutter, cistern			fresco (fight between Nucerians and Pompeians: fair)	
1.4.5/25 b	gutter		altar	sculpture (Apollo)	
1.4.9	cistern		altar		
1.6.15	gutter, cistern			sculpture (base), fresco (fulling industry:	
1.7.7	cistern (2)		altar, table		
1.11.5/8	gutter		altar		
1.11.12	gutter, cistern			sculpture (Venus, three herms)	
1.12.11	gutter, cistern			sculpture (base preserved), fresco (animal painting: poor)	
1.12.16	cistern		raised bed	fresco (garden painting: poor)	
1.17.4	gutter		altar	sculpture (base), fresco (garden paining: good, painting in lararium: poor)	

Figure VII: Five feature categories which are used to designate groupings.

Garden	Size	Public Space	Peristyle	Cultivation Evidence
			Partial, Full	Palaebotonical (root cast, pollen), Dolia
GROUP A				
1.2.6	13.5		full	
1.2.16	45.5		partial	
1.2.17 b	35		partial	
I.3.23			partial	
1.4.5/25 b	65		full	
1.4.9	4			
1.6.15	30		partial	
1.7.7	23		partial	Large tree cavity, nail holes in wall indicate
1.11.5/8	30			olive oil, according to
1.11.12	190			informally planted vineyard, two tree
1.12.11	19		partial	twenty-seven small root caveties indicated a
1.12.16	3			three root cavities appear to be trees, nine smaller cavities appear
1.17.4	29		partial	to be vines, perhaps the

Figure VIII: Additional categories not used to designate groupings.

Included before the categories in each catalog is important information regarding the size of the garden, whether or not the garden has a partial or full portico, public space designation, chapter reference, and cultivation evidence. These are not used to determine

garden groupings. The size of a garden contributed to the scale of plants the garden could contain. For instance, a large garden like from the House of the Faun (VI.12) might have space for large plane trees that provided shade, whereas a smaller garden space like in the House of the Prince of Naples (VI.15.8) would have necessitated smaller trees or bushes, like an oleander. The size of the garden is not used in the group designations because previous scholarship has often referred to size when considering a garden aesthetic or productive.

A full or partial peristyle often indicates the amount of sun and rain accessible to the garden space. These are important to keep in mind when analyzing the type of plants found in that garden and reconstructing it faithfully. The presence of peristyles in Pompeian houses has often led scholars to consider a garden private and aesthetic. A recent study by S. Simelius on Pompeian gardens has cataloged gardens with evidence of peristyles. Simelius catalogued gardens with identified peristyles in order based on region, *insula*, and house entrance number. His research focus remained on the peristyle as a representation of socioeconomic status.[32] My research does not use the presence or absence of peristyles in the garden typology in order to avoid any preconstructed classification of a garden space.

Looking ahead to my analysis in Chapters Three and Four, gardens in structures that have been identified as a type of business or commercial space are indicated based on the interpreted function of that business. This designation, however, does not impact my garden typology, which is based solely on the material evidence found in the garden.[33]

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[32] Simelius 2018

[33] The catalogs could be expanded in the future to include artifact found in the garden, which would offer more insight into the activities taking place. For instance, the presence of table ware supports dining activities. Or the presence of a game board or dice could suggest game play. Loom weights indicate weaving, etc. Due to time constraints, my work only focuses on the features.

Feature Definitions

Water Infrastructure: This category consists of features that would indicate there was water kept on hand to water the plants in the garden. This evidence suggests that whatever plants were present in the garden required routine watering. This category contains gutters, cisterns, irrigation channels, and water basins (Fig IX).[34] Gutters sometime functioned to move rainwater out of the garden and into the street, but other times the rainwater is collected in a cistern via the gutter. Cisterns are large underground containers used to collect water run-off for garden maintenance and other household needs. The water stored in cisterns was accessed through an opening in the floor that was usually covered by a *puteal* or well-head cover. Cisterns were likely the most feasible way to store water in a garden as opposed to irrigation channels that direct water towards the garden space for watering. Irrigation channels would require extra installation and an abundant water source in proximity to the garden.

[34] Jansen 2018, 410-411

A

B

C

Figure IX: A. Gutter in garden at I.9.5 (PIP). B. Well head for a cistern in garden at I.7.7 (PIP). C. water basin found in vineyard of I.15.3 (PIP).

The presence of irrigation channels and basins suggests routine to more frequent watering in the garden. As discussed above, irrigation channels were an investment made by the owner to access more water for the garden. Basins, while not as large as cisterns, would have conveniently stored water above the ground and would have been filled and emptied by laborers for garden maintenance. These features are found in larger garden spaces with palaeobotanical evidence of multiple fruit trees, grapevines, and vegetable and herb beds. For example, gardens found with one or more of these water features could get as large as 2,000 square meters in size (I.15.3, I.21.2, I.22,). These gardens are typically identified as ‘market-gardens’ because they have palaeobotanical evidence

which suggests the cultivation of produce on a larger scale.[35] In other cases, water infrastructure is installed into the house for the use of the business and perhaps also the garden space such as vats found in *fullonicae* (laundry services).[36]

Decorative Water Features: These features include fountains and decorative pools. These are primarily aesthetic in function, but they could also allow easy access to water in the garden. Decorative water features have a strong presence in the gardens of Regio VI compared to Regio I. This may be because Regio VI is closer to the *castellum aquae* (water tower), which would have offered easier access to aqueduct water.

Architectural Features: These features include altars, raised garden beds, and tables, all of which require installing into the garden's structure. Architectural and art features support the idea that the gardens were prominent locations within the building, used regularly, and even invested in by the owners.[37] The type of features present in the garden can also give us an idea of what activities took place within the garden space. For example, while altars were often decorated with fresco or mosaic and contained small statuettes and figurines, their presence in the garden also suggests that the garden functioned as a place of worship, prayer, and other forms of religious contemplation.[38]

Decorative Art Features: Art features include sculptures, frescoes, and mosaics, found in the garden on walls, floors, and sometimes tables. Sculptures are listed along with the identified subject (i.e., Bacchus with a satyr). The frescoes and mosaics also identify the

[35] This will be discussed in the market-garden survey in Chapter Four.
[36] This will be discussed in Chapter Three.
[37] Curtis 1979, 22
[38] A *Lararium* is an altar or shrine to the *lares* (household gods), as defined by Macaulay-Lewis in *Gardens of the Roman Empire.*

subject(s) as well as the condition of the piece (destroyed, poor, fair, good). There are several shop-house and commercial spaces which incorporate decoration into garden space in order to promote and market their business to the public or to make the working environment more pleasant.[39]

Dining Features: This category consists of features related to dining, such as *triclinia* (a three-sided couch, used for reclining and eating; also used to describe dining rooms) and pergolas (or trellis, a wooden or metal construction on which plants, especially vines, grow).[40] Pergolas would shade the *triclinium* in the garden. If a garden has evidence of a pergola but not a *triclinium,* we can speculate that dining occurred in the pergola. Dining within the garden was associated with the elite experience, but this survey suggests that dining in the garden was accessible to the general public, no matter their socioeconomic status.

Cultivation Evidence: This category does not affect in which group a garden falls, but it is included to contribute to the analysis and any future reconstruction of the garden space. Due to Pompeii's remarkable level of preservation, many gardens do offer scholars palaeobotanical evidence to suggest what types of plants were grown in that garden space; however, the quality and quantity of evidence varies from region to region, For instance, very little plant evidence remains from the gardens in Regio VI due to the region being excavated prior to the invention of palaeobotanical methods. Therefore, I created the Regio VI catalog before the Regio I catalog, since Regio I has produced a good amount of palaeobotanical evidence. Regio VI was compiled first in order to create the standards for the group definitions based on the architectural and art features found in

[39] This will be discussed in Chapters Three and Four.
[40] Macaulay-Lewis 2018, 553

the gardens. I used Regio VI as the control for the groups due to the lack of palaeobotanical evidence found in these gardens. The Regio I catalog follows the same standards established by Regio VI. After the gardens were organized in Regio I, the cultivation evidence was added to the catalog.[41] Therefore, the palaeobotanical evidence found in certain groups in Regio I can be applied back to the corresponding group in Regio VI. For example, Regio I Group B has three gardens with palaeobotanical evidence that suggests these gardens were able to maintain fruit and/or shade trees and shrubbery. It can perhaps be inferred that Regio VI Group B gardens may have had the same capacity to maintain trees and shrubbery since these gardens share corresponding features to the gardens in Regio I Group B.

A garden has strong evidence of cultivation if *dolia* (storage vessels) and palaeobotanical evidence of pollen samples or root-cast are found. The presence of *dolia* in gardens, especially vineyards and orchards, suggest that the produce was either stored temporarily on site in the *dolia* or if found in a designated vineyard, the *dolia* were used to create wine from the grapes grown in that garden (Fig. X).[42]

[41] The palaeobotanical evidence listed by Jashemski in *The Gardens of Pompeii Volume II* (1993) and by Michele Borgognina in *Archeobotanica: reperti vegetali da Pompei e dal territorio vesuviano* (2006) were included in these catalogs.
[42] Jashemski 1977, 223

Figure X: Dolia *found in I.20.5 (PIP).*

Palaeobotanical evidence can give archaeologists an idea of the plants that were maintained in garden spaces. Large root-casts are especially helpful in identifying types of trees. Smaller roots indicate the presence of flora or herbs, and medium size roots suggests that the garden also maintained shrubbery and vegetables (Fig. XI).

Figure XI: Root-cast in vineyard of I.11.10 (PIP).

The layout of roots in a garden can indicate whether the garden was capable of large-scale production, often found in vineyards and orchards. Pollen samples found in gardens can also provide insight into the species of plants grown on-site, although they

cannot tell us where the plants were exactly located within the garden.[43] Cultivation evidence found in gardens, especially in larger plots, has encouraged scholars to designate the primary functions of these spaces as purely productive or commercial; however, decorative and dining features are also found in these gardens, which challenges the idea of a sole function in a garden space.

These categories were created into order to keep the data compiled in the catalogs manageable and functional. Features found in categories are listed so that the user can easily see and compare all the evidence found in a particular garden space. There are some cases where a garden with no identifiable features is placed into a grouping because this garden is connected to another garden in that house (I.10.4_B, I.11.14_B, I.12.15_B, etc.). A garden that is the sole garden of a house and has no evidence in or in proximity to the garden has not been added to this catalog. This decision was made in order to keep the typological analysis of gardens manageable and to avoid over speculation of these garden spaces.

In a group, a category is limited to only a certain number of features in that category. For example, Group B gardens must have one to two features from water infrastructure, but zero decorative water features, architectural features, decorative art features, and dining features. Following these criteria, the House of the Fruit Orchards (I,9,5) falls into this category since the garden only contained a gutter and a cistern, but no architectural, decorative, or dining features. Of course, the absence of features does not mean that certain activities did not take place in the garden. Perhaps moveable wooden furniture could have been carried into the garden of the House of the Fruit

[43] Jashemski 1993, 8

Orchards for dining purposes. For this analysis, however, I have focused on the evidence that was preserved as a means for encouraging evidence-based speculation about what was happening in these gardens as well as to enable comparisons between different gardens between regions. This work will aid scholars in identifying interesting patterns within gardens in Roman society during the 1st c CE.[44]

Group Definitions

Group	Number	Average Size	Range	W. I.	D.W.F	Arch. F.	Art. F.	D.F.
A	34	57	2.5-389	Cistern	Pool	Altar	Sculpture	N/A
B	21	67	9-280	Gutter	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
C	17	279	3-1,860	Cistern	Fountain	Raised-Bed	Sculpture	N/A
D	33	227.5	19-1,872	Gutter	Pool	Table	Sculpture	Triclinium
E	34	107	4-933	N/A	Pool	Altar	Sculpture	N/A

Figure XII: Chart of groups listing number of gardens, average size (square meters), size range (square meters), and most common categories feature present in overall group.

Group A: There are 34 gardens in this category: 13 in Regio I and 21 in Regio VI. Group A gardens do not exceed 400 square meters in size. The largest garden is identified as a horticulture plot measuring 389 square meters (VI.17.32) and the smallest garden is two and a half square meters in size (VI.2.29). Group A has an average garden size of 57.5 square meters. The majority of these gardens contain porticos: 90% (19/21) of the gardens in Regio VI have a peristyle, and 70% (9/13) of the gardens in Regio I have a peristyle (Fig. XIII). Group A gardens contain features in four categories: water infrastructure, decorative water features, architectural features, and art features.

[44] As gardens in other regions are added to the catalog, that evidence may challenge or refine the groupings established in this research project.

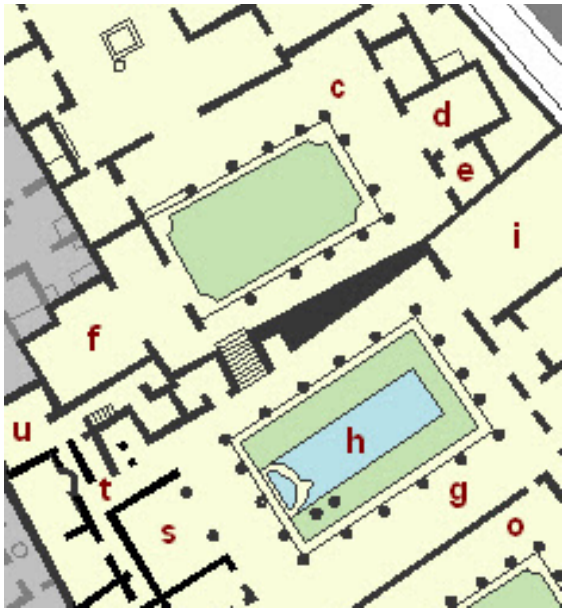

Figure XIII: Example of Partial (c) and Full (h) Peristyles in I.4.5 (Pompeii, AD 79).

The most common water infrastructure features, gutters and/or cisterns are required of gardens in Group A. In Group A, 65% (22/34) of the gardens have at least one utilitarian water features: gutter or cistern. The most common feature in both regions is the gutter. Group A gardens also have between zero to two decorative water features. In Regio VI, 62% (13/21) of gardens incorporate at least one of these features. Only one garden in Regio I incorporates a pool in the garden space.

These gardens also produce zero to two architectural features and zero to three art features. Based on this analysis, the Group A gardens from Regio VI appear to contain more decorative elements across categories than in Regio I. Less than 40% (5/13) of gardens in Regio I incorporate art and architectural features, and the most common features found are sculptures and altars, while 57% (12/21) of the gardens in Regio VI incorporate multiple decorative elements from these three feature categories, the most common combination being fountains and/or pools with frescoes. Group A gardens have a total of six preserved or identified sculptures and frescoes that depict gods, including

Bacchus, Mars, Apollo, and Venus. Bacchus and Apollo are especially popular subjects in garden decor across the groupings. This suggests that these gods may have connections to garden and garden imagery, notably Bacchus, who is connected to sacred groves and vineyards by Roman poets.[45] The owners may also have wanted to incorporate religious symbols into the space for worship or religious contemplation.

Religious iconography is not the only subject found in decoration within gardens. The garden of a *fullonica* (I.6.7) produced a unique fresco type depicting the fulling (laundry) industry, reflecting that the owner of the workshop felt a sense of pride in their business.[46] Two of the gardens contain fountains that are decorated with mosaics, both of which are in Regio VI (VI.8.22, VI.14.43). Five of the gardens in both regions have garden-inspired frescoes within the garden space (Fig. XIV), depicting flora, shrubbery, and birds similar in style to the garden frescoes that decorated the Villa of Livia outside Rome and the House of the Fruit Orchards in Pompeii.

Figure XIV: Example of Garden painting from House of the Golden Bracelet, VI.17.42 (PIP).

[45] Columella *De Re Rustica,* 10. 2, 237-238, 428, etc.
[46] This will be discussed in Chapter Three.

The palaeobotanical evidence found in the gardens of Regio I Group A reflect that these spaces were able to grow and maintain shade trees, grapevines, and ivy vines. The evidence in several gardens suggests that vines were trained to grow on walls, as evident by holes found in walls, or on trees, because their roots were located close to trees in the garden.[47] The gardens also may have grown smaller plants like flora. This suggests that the basic water resources like gutters and cisterns allowed the household to maintain modest gardens within their homes.

Group B: Within Group B, there are 13 gardens in Regio I and eight gardens in Regio VI. Garden sizes vary between nine to 280 square meters with an average of 67 square meters. In both Regio I and Regio VI, 71% of gardens (15/21) incorporate a partial or full peristyle. Gardens in Group B have one or two water infrastructure features, but unlike Group A, they produced no evidence for decorative features. Within this group, 62% of gardens contained both a gutter and a cistern. The palaeobotanical evidence found in the gardens of Regio I suggests these gardens contained trees and vines. Only one garden has evidence of fruit trees (I.12.8_B). Five of the gardens in Group B have been identified as non-domestic. The garum shop (I.12.8), the *fullonica* (I.6.7), and the *textoria* (VI.13.6) will be analyzed in the shop-house gardens survey.[48]

Group C: There are 16 gardens in this group, 10 in Regio I and six in Regio VI. Garden size varies between 13 square meters to 1,860 square meters with an average size of 279 square meters. In Group C, 75% (12/16) of the gardens have partial or full peristyle present. Group C contains gardens with evidence of increased water maintenance, which

[47] Also found in the literary evidence, see Pliny the Elder *HN* 17.164-8 on the six ways to train vines.
[48] This will be discussed in Chapter Three.

indicates these gardens were capable of production on a larger scale than the gardens in Group A and B. The gardens in this group contain between one to four water infrastructure features. The gardens have evidence of the basic features, gutters and cisterns, as well as features that suggest the gardens required more frequent and accessible water maintenance, such as irrigation channels and basins. Besides gutters and cisterns, the most common water resources in Regio I is the basin, which was used to store water for garden maintenance above ground (7/10). In Regio VI, the most common feature is the irrigation channel, used to direct water into the garden (4/6). Irrigation channels often suggest that the garden was full of productive plants, such as fruit trees, grapevines, vegetables, and herbs, all of which require more water and care then plants that do not produce fruit or vegetables.

The architectural features in Group C suggests homeowners are attempting to expand their gardens by installing raised garden beds in the house. Seven gardens in Group C included evidence of architectural features, especially raised beds and tables.[49] Five of these seven gardens incorporate raised garden beds into the space, which suggests the homeowner wanted to expand the garden space and perhaps increase mixed cultivation (I.10.10, VI.6.1, VI.9.6_A, VI.15.1_A, VI.16.36). Raised garden beds can be found in the garden as well as on half-walls and around *impluvia.* The presence of raised garden beds and increased water resources suggests that owners are attempting to incorporate more garden space into their home. A raised garden bed would allow the household to grow smaller plants like flora and herbs in contained spaces, to leave the

[49] Two gardens in Regio VI, Group C (VI.9.6_a, VI.16.36) have gardens with gutters and cisterns, but no other water resource. These gardens are not assigned to Group A because they have three architectural features in the garden, whereas the maximum number of architectural features found in Group A gardens is two.

rest of the garden available for larger plants, like vegetables, shrubbery, and trees. Raised beds found alongside gardens expand the amount of space for cultivation, but these would also require more accessibility to water in order to maintain the raised beds and the garden space.

Decorative art features are found in less than 50% (7/16) of gardens in Group C. These gardens included zero to two decorative art features with the most common feature being sculptures. Four sculptures found in Group C gardens have been identified as Bacchus. Other sculpture subjects include Apollo, Paris, young boys, and animals. Three frescoes portray both garden and animal scenes. One garden in a *fullonica* (VI.14.22) contains frescoes depicting the fulling industry, similar to the one mentioned above in Group A (I.6.7). Only three gardens have both frescoes and sculpture preserved together. Only two gardens incorporate decorative water features in the garden, both of which have fountains and pools. It appears that these decorative features are not prioritized in the gardens of Group C.

The palaeobotanical evidence found in Group C gardens suggests these spaces were cultivating produce on a larger scale than the gardens in Group A or B. Evidence indicates that gardens grew flora, herbs, vegetables, fruit trees, and grapevines. There is also evidence of multiple *dolia* found in three gardens, which indicates the garden stored the produce temporarily on site or made wine from the grapes grown on site. The increase in water accessibility indicates that these features allowed gardens to grow and cultivate produce on a larger scale. Two of the gardens in this group have been identified as 'horticulture plots', a generic term used to designate the garden as primarily productive

(I.15.3, I.20.5). One garden was connected to a *lupanar* (I.10.10).[50] Two gardens are connected to shop-houses, a *garum* shop and a *fullonica* (I.12.8, VI.14.22).[51]

Group D: Group D has a total of 24 gardens from Regio I and nine from Regio VI. The smallest garden measures 19 square meters, and the largest garden measures 1,872 square meters with an average garden size of 227.5 square meters. In Group D, 42% (14/33) of the gardens have a peristyle: eleven gardens have partial peristyles, and three have full peristyles. The gardens with peristyles are all less than 200 square meters in size. For a garden to be assigned to Group D, it must have evidence of a *triclinium* or a pergola. A *triclinium* is often associated with a dining room within a Roman house that often opened onto the garden, but many gardens in Pompeii also incorporated masonry *triclinia* into the garden to allow for dining and relaxing in that space. A *triclinium* can be identified by two or three masonry couches, perhaps with a table in the center. Other gardens incorporate shaded structures with three walls and a roof in the garden to allow for a shaded room with a full view of the garden (Fig. XV, Fig XVI).

[50] This will be discussed in Chapter Four.
[51] This will be discussed in Chapter Three.

Figure XV: Masonry triclinium *from the Inn of the Gladiator I.20.1(PIP).*

Figure XVI: Shaded triclinium *structure from I.10.11 (PIP).*

Pergolas were fixtures often placed over masonry *triclinia,* which would support grapevines to provide shade for those dining in the space. The *triclinium* and pergola indicate that dining was a prominent activity in the garden space. Only one house in this group does not contain a *triclinium* but has evidence of a pergola (VI.5.5).

Group D gardens have zero to two water infrastructure features. In Regio VI, less than 45% (4/9) of gardens included gutters and/or cisterns whereas 58% (14/24) of gardens in Regio I included any of the water infrastructure features. Five of these gardens in Regio I have irrigation channels. While these gardens do not include as many water resources as the gardens in Group C, some of the gardens are able to maintain a lot of the same plant life seen in Group C gardens with the presence of irrigation channels. Group D gardens can have zero to two decorative water features. Only eight gardens in Group D incorporate decorative water features into the garden spaces, which also may have been used to water the garden. This suggests that gardens that allowed for dining could have medium-to-large-scale plant maintenance and production.

The palaeobotanical evidence preserved in Regio I Group D supports the idea that Group D gardens were capable of larger scale cultivation. Many of the root-cast and pollen samples suggests these gardens grew fruit trees, grapevines, and vegetables. The presence of multiple *dolia* in the gardens also suggests these large storage vessels collect the produce grown on site to be consumed by the house or sold locally. Many of these *dolia* could have also been used to make wine from grapes grown in these garden spaces. There is also palaeobotanical evidence in Group D gardens of shade trees and shrubbery. The largest gardens in these catalogs are in this group; they have been identified by scholars as market-gardens, commercial orchards or vineyards that are almost 2,000 square meters in size (I.20.1, I.21.2, I.22) (Fig. XVII). These gardens are also connected to businesses that allowed the garden spaces to be accessible to the public. These gardens are located on the east side of Regio I and are closer to the amphitheater. Due to the

proximity to the public entertainment venue, these market-garden owners may have made their "productive" gardens accessible to the public as a dining venue for a price.

While these are the some of the largest gardens within the city limits of Pompeii, the land outside the boundaries would have certainly been used to grow produce on an even larger scale. The cultivation of hinterlands and trade would have provided for the majority of the population's foodstuff. It is important to keep in mind that several of these market-gardens would not have been able to produce enough fruit and vegetables for the entire city.[52] However, by the late republic and early empire, there is evidence of advancement in agricultural technology. The countryside certainly produced most of the durable foods stuff; however, cities had to use innovative methods to produce their perishable live goods. This practice contributed to the fruit trade in cities through large-commercial gardens, small tomb orchards, and other mixed cultivated gardens within and just outside of Roman cities.[53] This would suggest that while these market-gardens in Pompeii were limited in size, the advance techniques would allow for an increase in cultivation during the 1st c CE.[54] Additionally, these gardens give up garden space to make room for dining and other activities not typically associated with *negotium*, which suggests the owners are willing to dedicate some of the garden space for a dining venue.

[52] My father's grandfather kept a vegetable garden larger than 2,000 square meters that grew enough to feed himself and his wife.
[53] Morley 2002, 86-90
[54] Termin 2001, 197

Figure XVII: Market garden from I.22.1(PIP).

Group D gardens incorporate more decorative features compared to gardens in Group C. Group D gardens have zero to two architectural and art features. In Regio VI, 67% (6/9) of have raised garden beds and/or tables. The most common features in Regio I are altars and tables. In Regio I, more than 30% (10/33) of gardens have evidence of tables, and more than 20% (7/33) of gardens have evidence of altars, three of which are gardens connected to commercial spaces. Zero to two art features are found in Group D gardens. Nine (27%) of these gardens have sculptures, six of which also incorporate frescoes. Seven sculptures depict gods or goddesses, especially Bacchus and Hercules. Five frescoes are scenes with gardens and/or animals. Only one garden has a mosaic which depicts a skull found on a table in a tannery (I.5.2). There are a total of fifteen gardens associated with public space in this group, ten of which are the focus of this

thesis. Eight of these have been identified as commercial spaces and the remaining two are shop-houses.[55]

Group E: Group E has a total of 34 gardens: 19 gardens in Regio I and 15 gardens in Regio VI. These gardens vary in size between four square meters to 933 square meters. The average size of the gardens in this group is 107 square meters. Three of the gardens in the catalogs do not have sizes. This is because the house does not have a designated garden. Instead raised-garden beds are incorporated into the house to provide a small space for flora and herbs (Fig. XVIII).

Figure XVIII: Raised garden bed from I.12.16 (PIP).

Group E contain gardens with no water infrastructure features present. Many of these gardens have been identified as *viridaria,* a place for the collection and display of *viridia,* specimen plants.[56] Little can be said about what activities or plants were present in these gardens due to the lack of archaeological and palaeobotanical evidence. While

[55] These will be discussed in Chapters Three and Four.
[56] Macaulay-Lewis 2018, 553

these gardens do not permit water infrastructure features, gardens can include zero to two decorative water features. Only 12 of these gardens (35%) incorporate decorative water features into the space, five of which included both fountains and pools. The decorative water features would have been able to provide water necessary for any garden maintenance. Based on palaeobotanical evidence found in four gardens in Regio I, Group E gardens could have grown and maintained vegetables, flora, and grapevines. The root-casts are few and smaller in size than casts found in the gardens of Group C or D, which might suggest these gardens could only maintain small-scale production perhaps for the consumption of the household.

Group E gardens incorporate architectural and art features in the space, similar to gardens in Group A. Gardens in this group included zero to two architectural features, such as altars and raised-garden beds, but only one garden has evidence of both features (VI.2.22). Gardens in Group E can have zero to three art features with 35% (12/34) of gardens incorporating these features. In Regio I, frescoes are more common, but sculptures are more common in Regio VI. Only four gardens in the group have both frescoes and sculpture present. The most common fresco theme is a garden-inspired painting. Common sculpture subjects include Bacchus, Apollo, Venus, and young boys. Regio VI has 93% (14/15) of the gardens that incorporate decorative water, architectural, and art features into the space. In Regio I, only 58% (11/19) of gardens contain these features. This follows the trend that gardens in Regio VI incorporate more decorative features than gardens in Regio I, which was discussed above in the definition of Group A. Only one garden in Group E is associated with a commercial space, identified as a *hospitium* (I.8.10).

Conclusion

Although already in use, the structure of the catalogs allows for future researchers to easily expand on my work to include gardens in other regions of Pompeii. When a new garden with or without palaeobotanical evidence is placed into the catalog and is assigned to a certain group based on the evidence of features found within that garden, the researcher can refer to the Garden Reconstruction Catalog in order to determine what types of plants may have been present in that garden space based on its group designation.[57] The combination of features that establish group designations make it possible to infer, even with the absence of palaeobotanical evidence, what kinds of plants were present by the comparison to other gardens in that group. I compiled the most common types of plants found in 1st c CE Roman gardens based on art, literary, and archaeological analysis. I then organized the plants that were most likely to appear in each garden group, considering access to sunlight, water, and season. This methodology allows artists to rely on a thorough analysis of the gardens in order to reconstruct these spaces faithfully.

For example, the Virtual Pompeii Project reconstructed the House of the Prince of Naples (VI.15.7) with the help provided by these catalogs (Fig. XIX). This garden contains a gutter and a cistern. The features present in this garden place it in Group A.[58] This group has palaeobotanical evidence of mostly trees and vines as well as vegetables and shrubbery. The garden of the House of the Prince of Naples was reconstructed with laurel trees, vines, oleander, and boxwood.

[57] The Garden Reconstruction Catalog can be found in the appendix along with the Regio I and Regio VI Catalogs.
[58] Garden has evidence of a gutter, cistern, table, and altar.

Figure XIX (A): Before reconstruction of garden of the House of the Prince of Naples (Virtual Pompeii Project, Tesseract Center at the University of Arkansas).

Figure XIX (B): After reconstruction of the House of the Prince of Naples (Virtual Pompeii Project, Tesseract Center at the University of Arkansas).

The position of the cistern and altar informs us that the plants needed to be placed into the corners and sides of the garden since the household needed the central space for activities associated with the cistern and altar. The cistern is located in front of a window on the north wall. The cistern would have been used regularly and so it was necessary to keep the space around the cistern clear for access. Vines could have been grown on the

west wall behind the altar based on the evidence of training vines on the walls found in another garden in Group A (I.7.7). Because the House of the Prince of Naples did not have palaeobotanical evidence to determine where the plants were positioned in the garden, the catalogs can guide archaeologists and designers towards a more faithful reconstruction of how that space may have appeared.

The methodology of the catalogs enables a unique approach to research in Roman Garden scholarship. We can make confident decisions regarding what type of plants were grown and maintained in these garden space, based on the trends identified in these catalogs. Previous reconstruction of gardens has limited itself to relying on the art historical and literary evidence, which does provide detailed references to flora common in Roman gardens during the 1st c CE. However, incorporating archaeological and palaeobotanical evidence creates a more holistic approach to the analysis of Roman garden spaces and to the reconstruction of Pompeian gardens. In the future, a similar approach to reconstructing commercial gardens could help us better understand how these spaces were used and experienced by ordinary Romans.

Because my methodology groups gardens according to shared features, the categories cut across traditional public and private or productive and aesthetic designations. My thesis used these catalogs to evaluate multiple gardens in Pompeii that have been overlooked in previous scholarship due to their connection with commercial settings. Through the use of this methodology, I discovered that commercial garden spaces found in Pompeii have coinciding qualities and functions with gardens primarily associated with elite society. Private and commercial gardens share many of the same

architectural and art features, which challenges previous assumption that commercial gardens were only used for *negotium*.

CHAPTER THREE: *NEGOTIUM NON OLET:* PRODUCTING IN THE POMPEIAN SHOP-HOUSE GARDENS

Introduction

After the earthquake in 62 CE, scholars believed many of the homes abandoned due to damage were bought and used by local businesses, transforming the domestic space into a service industry or workshop.[59] Consequently, when a Pompeian house produces evidence for the presence of industry, service (e.g., fulling), or production (e.g., *garum*), the house has traditionally been viewed as 're-purposed' space that was "demoted" from an highly-valued elite residence into a lowly commercial enterprise. However, it is more likely that the functions of these shop-houses were fluid and retained their residential functions even if the house was altered to accommodate the needs of the business. Still, this shift from elite-domestic space to non-elite commercial space has been viewed as evidence of economic decline at Pompeii in the last decades before the eruption.[60]

This chapter will survey the archaeological, architectural, and visual evidence found in the gardens of seven shop-houses in Regio I and Regio VI that challenge this assumption that economic decline inspired homeowners to convert their domestic space into commercial space, with the questionable assumption of a strict division between the two. A shop-house is a house with evidence of architectural features, archaeological discoveries, or graffiti suggestive of production or commercial activities at a scale above provisioning the household. The shop-houses analyzed in this survey all possess garden

[59] Maiuri 1942; Ellis 2018, 139
[60] Dobbins and Foss 2007

spaces that would have originally been built and cultivated for the use and enjoyment of the affluent homeowner and his family, as a symbol of his wealth and status.[61] In fact, the gardens often retain the architectural features that typically designate these spaces as domestic (*triclinia,* pergola, altars, etc.) even after their function appears to have shifted. Once the homeowner chose to outfit a business in the house, or perhaps leased or sold the house to be used for industry, the laborers who occupied it made productive use of the garden(s), taking advantage of the extra open space and access to sun, air, and, especially, water supply that the garden provided. In fact, the majority of shop-houses in this survey contained industries that required lots of space, ventilation, and good access to water and drainage. While the functions of the gardens in these shop-houses may have shifted toward *negotium* in Pompeii's last decades, one wonders how the echo of *otium* may have shaped the non-elite laborers working in these spaces.

This survey of gardens in shop-houses extends Flohr's argument that *fullonicae* located within residences did not decrease the domestic, aesthetic qualities of the residence. Flohr focused on the three largest *fullonicae* of Pompeii, all found within residential houses that have previously been considered by scholars as 'converted' or 'repurposed', which suggests that the houses no longer have any residential qualities. Florh's survey argues that these *fullonicae* maintained their residential character and reflects the relationship between domestic and commercial spaces.[62] My survey follows the structure established in Flohr's survey with a focus on the garden spaces, which appear to be a central location for business-oriented activities based on the archaeological evidence.

[61] Wickham 2012; von Stackelberg 2009
[62] Flohr 2011, 89

A garden within a residence that is not accessible to the public could have easily been used by the family's business for *negotium* and *otium*. By providing access to open space, water, sunlight, and air circulation, the proprietors of these shop-houses seem to have recognized that a garden had advantages for running a business out of a home. For instance, although overlooked in scholarship, there is evidence to suggest that the owners were investing in the decoration of these gardens after they had been reoriented towards production and commerce. The addition of decorative elements to the garden spaces challenges the idea of the economic decline following the earthquake and instead reflects a sense of pride in the aesthetic qualities of the garden that now functions as the center of his enterprise.

Shop-House Gardens in Regio I and Regio VI of Pompeii

There are a total of nine gardens associated with seven shop-house. In this survey, six are in Regio I and three are in Regio VI. Two of the shop-houses have two gardens connected to the business. Six of the gardens have full or partial peristyle gardens and four have decorative elements present. There appears to be two types of shop-house gardens in this survey: gardens used for activities that produced foul-smelling odors including *fullonicae,* a *garum* shop, and a tannery, all of which require permanent installations to be added to the garden. The other gardens connected to shop-houses include a *scriptorium* and a *textoria,* which do not require extra installations or chemical substances.

My survey reflects that the activities and functions in shop-house gardens were fluid. Although earlier scholarship has ignored the garden's role in the business activities and/or designated the garden as *otium*, proprietors were incorporating the garden into

their industries to increase productivity and revenue. Even as gardens were restructured for *negotium,* many of the leisure qualities were not erased. The owners, in fact, maintained or even enhanced such aesthetic and leisure aspects to make for a more pleasant environment where workers and residents could potentially dine and rest.[63] We will take a closer look at how the garden space was used for business-oriented activities and even leisure, joining the most recent scholarship in rejecting the binary approach.

Survey of Fullonicae

Fullonica of Stephanus (I.6.7): The *Fullonica* is located along *the via dell'Abbondanza*. The garden in this house represents a larger raised garden bed about 21 square meters in size. A partial portico (p) with a lower half-wall delineated the north, east, and west sides of the bed (Fig. XX).

Figure XX: Garden from Fullonica *of Stephanus (PIP).*

A deep gutter ran around the raised bed. There are no palaeobotanical evidence or root-casts excavated from the beds that could help determine what might have been

[63] Curtis 1979, 22

grown here. Located behind the garden are three vats and basins used by the business to wash the clothes (Fig. XXI).[64] The proximity to the garden would suggest that the business used the garden space for work-related activities, such as drying clothes. The location of the vats and basins near the garden are practical. Present water infrastructure features, like the deep gutter found in the garden, would have been useful for the fulling process, by allowing for water to be directed to or away from the vats used to clean the laundry. This may explain why *fullonicae* construct washing vats in or near garden spaces. The *fullonica* used strong smelling substances such as urine to clean the laundry, and the proximity to the garden would allow for more air circulation to carry noxious odors away. Near the garden was a *triclinium* (h) that opened up onto the peristyle, and the kitchen (m) is located near the garden as well, which might suggest this space was also used for dining by the household and the workers.

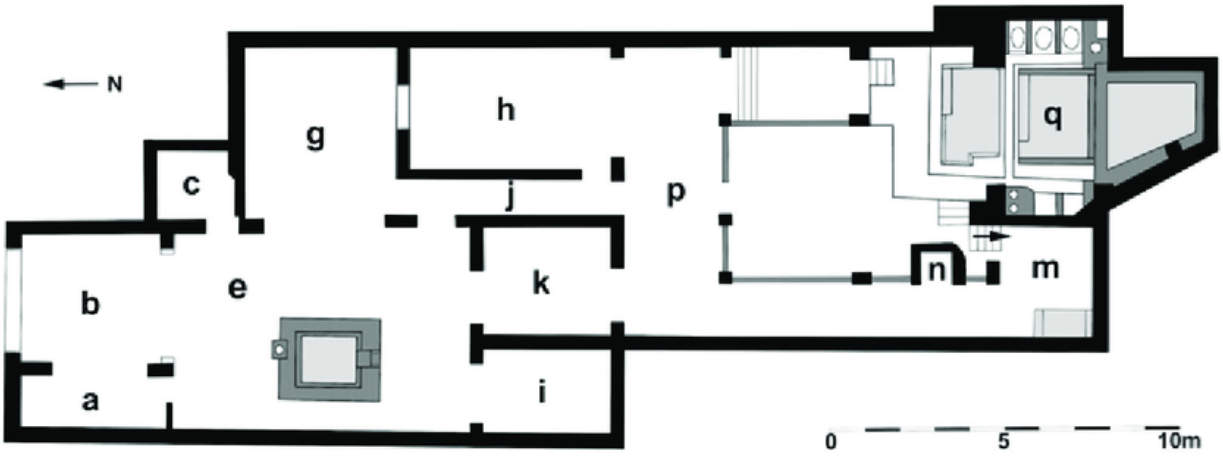

Figure XXI: Pompeii, fullonica *I.6.7, plan (after Spinazzola 1953, reproduced by Flohr 2009).*

Fullonica of L. Veranius Hypsaeus (VI.8.20): This garden is located in the largest full peristyle used by a business in this survey. The garden is over 110 square meters. The

[64] Jashemski 1993, 35

border of the garden has a deep gutter. In the southwest corner of the garden was a cistern. The northwest corner of the garden had a decorative fountain and pool. This garden had no palaeobotanical evidence to indicate what plants were cultivated in this space.[65] The brick pilasters along the west side of the peristyle were walled in, which covered vats used for washing located directly behind the garden. The vats were added to the house prior to the renovation of the peristyle garden around the 1st c BCE.[66] The house continued to be renovated and decorated into the 1st c CE. These renovations were not connected to the vats to the west of the peristyle garden but were focused on adding decorative elements into the residence after the addition of the *fullonica*.[67] Also found in the garden were frescoes depicting the fulling industry, which we also find in the *Fulloinca* of Primus (VI.14.22) (Fig. XXII, XXIII).

[65] Jashemski 1993, 134
[66] Flohr 2011, 94
[67] Flohr 2011, 96

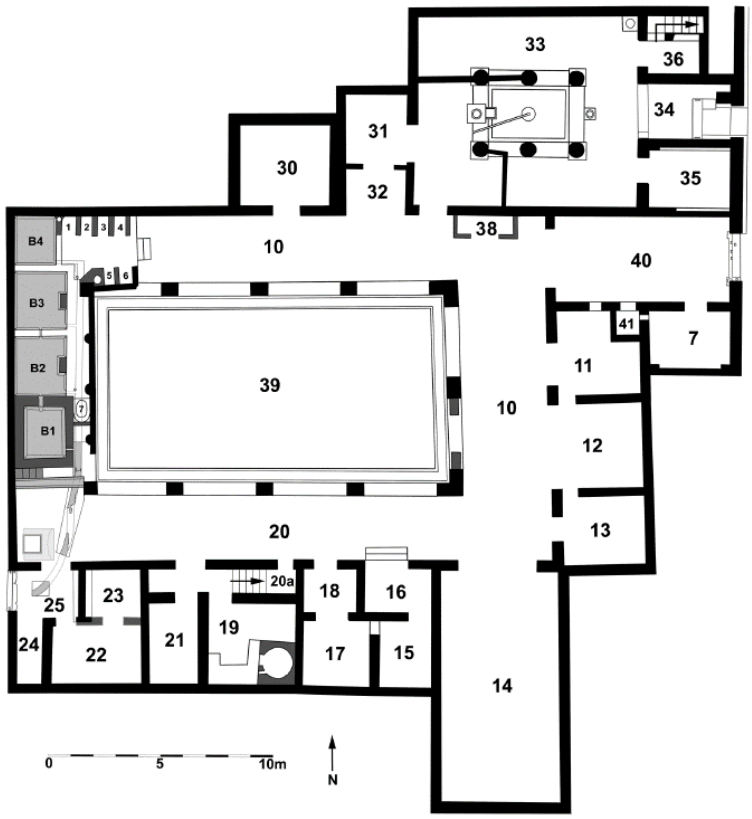

Figure XXII: Pompeii, fullonica *VI.8.20, plan (after Spinazzola 1953, reproduced by Flohr 2009).*

Figure XXIII: Fresco of fulling industry in Fullonica *of Hypsaeus (PIP).*

Fullonica of M. Versonius Primus (VI.14.22): This garden is 27.5 square meters. The garden was surrounded by a partial peristyle on the south, east, and west sides (Fig. XXIV). Three large masonry vats take up the space of the garden and a cistern opening was found on the east side, both of which are still visible today. Some decorative elements such as a fountain statue, a mask, and a marble head were found in the peristyle and were probably used as decoration in the garden prior to the vats' construction. Along the three vats is a deep gutter to collect the rinsing water. Gutters are common features in peristyle gardens in Pompeii, but we cannot determine whether this gutter was installed prior to the addition of the vats. The wall to the south of the peristyle was painted with a procession of fullers celebrating their patron deity Minerva on the festival of *Quinquatrus* (Fig. XXV). The painting is poorly preserved. There is no evidence of plant life to determine what might have been grown in this garden.[68]

Figure XXIV: Pompeii, fullonica *VI.14.21, plan (after Spinazzola 1953, reproduced by Flohr 2009).*

[68] Jashemski 1993, 150

Figure XXV: fresco of Quinquatrus *in* Fullonica *of Primus (PIP).*

This is the largest group of shop-houses in this survey. While other shop-houses have been identified through Regio I and Regio VI, their service cannot be determined due to the lack of archaeological evidence. *Fullonicae* have distinct architectural elements, such as vats that allow archaeologists to confidently identify their business. In these three examples, those architectural features are in proximity to or even in the peristyle gardens. Although the vats in the *Fullonica* of Versonius Primus do absorb the space of the entire garden, the other vats do not negate the aesthetic integrity of the gardens as previous scholarship might suggest. In fact, decorative elements found in the gardens remain along with the addition of the features associated with business-oriented activities.

Some decorative features found in the gardens may have been originally placed before the presence of the business, but the impact of the decorative elements on workers who are using these spaces should be considered. The *Fullonica* of V. Primus and L. Veranius Hypsaeus integrates wall-paintings with depiction of the fulling industry and fullery workers celebrating *Quinquatrus* as their subjects, suggesting that the business

was something that was celebrated and a source of pride for the household, not something that was purposely hidden in the rear of the house away from sight. The decorations are used to promote the business to their workers as well as their customers. The elite garden spaces have certain decorative trends used to promote their prominence through garden imagery typically associated with *otium*. Business owners are imitating this elite trend by innovatively decorating gardens to depict work instead of leisure. These frescoes add to the aesthetic qualities of the garden and also advertise the gardens' new work-oriented activities.

If the business wanted to be in a prominent position in the shop-house, it would make sense that work would be in or near the garden, a visible space within the house and even from the streets. It is certainly a practical choice to center work-oriented activities in the garden that has access to more space and water resources. But the evidence reflects that these peristyle gardens were also associated with *otium*. The 'repurposed' peristyle gardens which once were a symbol of elite statues is actually a center of industry and a source of pride for the business owner and workers.

Although the *Fullonica* of V. Primus would not have the ability to grow and cultivate plants with the additions of the vats in the garden space, the other gardens still have the ability to grow and maintain an impressive garden. The *Fullonica* of Veranius Hypaeus is the largest peristyle in this *Fullonicae* survey, and the full peristyle would allow for an adequate amount of sunlight and water. The garden is also surrounded by a gutter, which could indicate that the garden had some basic water resources for flora and herbs, and maybe even vegetables. There do not seem to be enough water-based resources to suggests that fruit trees were grown and cultivated in this garden, but the size

would allow for some trees, perhaps shade trees, for the comfort of the workers when they were eating or resting.

The presence of these vats near the gardens does not prevent the garden from remaining a garden. The raised garden bed of the *Fullonica* of Stephanus would permit flora and herbs, based on the size of the bed. Furthermore, just because the garden has been incorporated into an industrial space, this does not mean that the garden was no longer cultivated. Garden spaces were considered valued spaces by all members of society. The household could still allow the garden space to be used for aesthetic or productive cultivation purposes as well as business-oriented purposes. This is also seen in the survey of the tannery in Regio I.

Survey of the Tannery

Officina Coriariorum of M. Vesonius Primus (I.5.2): This workshop has two gardens. The first garden is 62 square meters in size with a *triclinium* and a partial peristyle on the north and east sides of the garden. The foundation of the *triclinium* and a base of the table are still visible in the garden today. The table was decorated with a mosaic of a skull, preserved in the Naples Archaeological Museum (Fig. XXVI).

Figure XXVI: Mosaic from tannery in I.5.2 (PIP).

There is no other evidence of decoration within this garden. The peristyle was not preserved and only a few column bases remain. Along the east side of the peristyle, compartments and pots are aligned, which scholars have suggested were used by the business in the tanning process (Fig. XXVII). The draining system would release water into the pots which align on the eastern side of the portico.[69]

Figure XXVII: Compartments and cisterns in tannery I.5.2 (PIP).

The second garden is almost 600 square meters in size, which takes up almost half of the insula. The first garden is connected to this larger garden by a small staircase. Neither garden had any preserved palaeobotanical evidence. It is suggested that this may have been a 'kitchen garden' prior to when the home was owned by the business, but we are not certain of this due to the lack of preserved evidence. This garden likely served as a space to dry leather tanned on site in the sun.[70]

[69] Jashemski 1993, 33
[70] Jashemski 1993, 33

The evidence of the *triclinium* in the smaller peristyle garden suggests that the household used this space to dine and relax. The mosaic found in the garden also supports the idea that this space was prominent. The owner did not remove the decorative element from the garden after the domestic space was converted to a workspace. Characteristics identified with *otium*, *triclinium* and decoration, remain even if the space has been partially altered to incorporate *negotium*.

The business strategically uses the extra space found in the garden and the portico for business. Compartments and basins with draining systems were built into the house around the portico of the garden, which suggests the business was taking advantage of the garden space for work-oriented activities. The proximity of the work to the peristyle garden seems to be a common trend with shop-houses, as we have seen in the survey of *fullonicae.* The larger garden connected to the peristyle does not have evidence of work activities or plant life; however, it is likely this large plot was also used by the business. Scholars believe this space was used to dry the leather or used as a kitchen garden. Because the garden is identified as a large horticulture plot, it was never associated with *otium*.

This garden and others like it are connected with the cultivation of produce for the consumption of the household, which would designate the space as *negotium,* but as we will see in the next chapter, productive garden spaces incorporate qualities associated with the elite experience. The use of this space in the back of the shop for work-oriented tasks could suggest that businesses were keeping their business contained and out of site. However, the evidence found in the peristyle garden does not support this since work in the peristyle would have been visible. The analysis of the peristyle could indicate that the

business also took advantage of this large plot for business, *negotium*. But the idea that this space was used for cultivating produce cannot be ignored either. This plot is large enough to maintain a productive garden and allow for leather to be dried in the sun.

Survey of Garum *Shop*[71]

Casa e Officina del Garum *degli Umbricii* (I.12.8): This house, located along the *via dell'Abbondanza*, also has two garden spaces. The first and smaller garden is the peristyle. The peristyle is 55 square meters and only enclosed by a portico on the south side. A gutter runs along a low wall connecting the columns in the portico. A basin structure was found against the east wall of the garden which overlapped the gutter and released excess water into the street. This is thought to have been an addition to clean work utensils.[72] On the wall between the two spaces was a fresco of a garden that is poorly preserved but still visible today (Fig. XXVIII).

Figure XXVIII: Garden fresco in garum *shop I.12.8 (PIP).*

[71] Robert Curtis' research on this *garum* shop was incorporated into this survey.
[72] Jashemski 1993, 54-55

The painting depicts shrubbery, perhaps oleander or myrtle, with birds. This is the only garden in this survey which has evidence of garden-inspired frescoes. The only decorations found elsewhere in this survey do not depict any flora or fauna (*Fullonica* of v. Primus, *Officina Coriariorum* of M. V. Primus, etc.). We saw in the survey of the *fullonicae* that the owners were using decoration to promote work. This survey of the *garum* shop reflects that the owner was wanting to incorporate the *otium* found in elite gardens. While the painting is not well preserved, the fresco depicted trees and shrubbery, as well as birds, as a way to extend their own garden. The garden-inspired frescoes are typical of elite garden spaces. The half-wall between the columns also has some minor reliefs of flora. Curtis believes the decorative elements found in this garden were added whenever the *garum* shop absorbed into the residence, which would support the idea that shop owners wanted to maintain or even add decorative elements associated with *otium* to the gardens where business is being conducted.[73]

In the northeast corner of the garden was a latrine, which Jashemski suggests was built in for the workers of the shop.[74] Curtis believes that the latrine would have been an addition with the washing basin and the fresco after the residence added the shop.[75] Also found in the garden were large *dolia* and amphoras that still contained remains of fish bones and sauce during the excavation in 1961. The vessels found in the garden would indicate that the garden was used regularly for work-oriented activities.

Some palaeobotanical evidence was discovered on site. Two tree cavities were discovered, a larger one in the northeast corner and a smaller tree in the southwest corner.

[73] Curtis 1979, 22
[74] Jashemski 1993, 54
[75] Curtis 1979, 19

And eight small cavities 'irregularly' spaced were found along the east wall and the latrine. Jashemski suggests these were perennial flowers or herbs and the tree roots were figs.[76] The palaeobotanical evidence also suggests that the garden continued to grow and maintain flora and even small-scale produce through vegetables and fig trees.[77] The peristyle is large enough to maintain a garden and allow workers to use and even enjoy the space as they work, cleaning or filling storage vessels of *garum*.

The second, larger garden was located in the back of the house, north of the peristyle. It is over 110 square meters in size. This layout is similar to the gardens seen in the tannery survey, which had a peristyle garden and a large horticulture plot. The garden contained a cistern in the middle of the garden surrounded by root cavities, perhaps belonging to shade or fruit trees. This reflects that the space was still used as a productive garden. The tree roots in proximity to the cistern could indicate these were fruit trees that required more maintenance than shade trees. The cistern is still in the garden today. No other evidence of plant life was found in the garden. Near the cistern was discovered a piece of *terra sigillata* (dishware) with SEX. M stamped on it to indicate ownership, which suggests the space was used for dining. During excavation, a larger number of empty amphoras were found in the large garden.[78] They were positioned in the northeast corner of the garden, sitting upside down (Fig. XXIX).

[76] Jashemski 1993, 55
[77] Curtis 1979, 20
[78] Jashemski 1993, 55

Figure XXIX: Amphoras stacked in garden of garum *shop I.12.8 (PIP).*

The amphoras found in the garden suggests that the large garden was used for work-oriented activities. This large space was used strategically by the business to clean and store amphoras not yet in use. [79] Although the survey of the tannery lacks any archaeological evidence that would indicate the space was used for business, the use of the space in the *garum* shop could support the idea that the tannery also took advantage of this space for work. Although the large garden was used by the business, it also remained a garden and could have grown produce on site. A small fruit orchard would have been a relaxing space for the workers to dine and rest during the day. The use of the plot for business and gardening is also seen in the tannery survey. This evidence reflects that this larger plot was a space for many different activities, both *negotium* and *otium.*

Survey of Scriptorium

Officina scriptoria (I.7.16): This house has been identified as a shop-house that was used as a *scriptorium,* a workshop used by scribes. The garden of this house is 70 square

[79] Muslin 2019, 154

meters in size. There is evidence of a *triclinium* and a table in the south east corner of the garden. The space is large enough for a *triclinium* as well as some small-scale production, flora, herbs, and vegetables. There is no evidence of water resources, but the size would allow for some shade or fruit trees to be maintained.[80] The house layout, which is described as 'irregular' does not have an atrium for clients to enter (Fig. XXX). The front corridor brings guests directly to the garden space, which might suggest that it was a common area used by workers and enjoyed by clients.

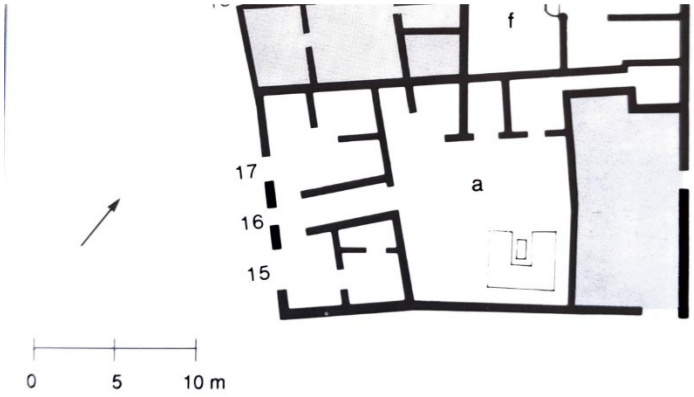

Figure XXX: Plan of Officina scriptoria *in I.7.16 (Gardens of Pompeii, Jashemski).*

Survey of Textoria

Casa e Officina Textoria di M. Terentius Eudoxus (VI.13.6): This house has been identified as a *textoria,* a weaving establishment, through the graffiti that named eleven women who worked in the shop.[81] This garden is 44 square meters. This partial peristyle garden has evidence of a gutter and cistern. While there is no evidence in the garden to suggests this space was used for weaving, the potential should not be ignored. The garden would have provided extra space and light for the work as well as a pleasant environment when weather permitted.

[80] Jashemski 1993, 41
[81] Allison 2010, 18-19

The *scriptorium* and the *textoria* may be examples of shop-houses that have not taken advantage of the garden space for business-oriented functions. There is no evidence to indicate that the workers were in or near the garden while working, although the presence of the *triclinium* in the *scriptorium* would suggest that the workers used the space to dine and relax. Despite the identity of a shop-house, the garden may have remained a space used by the workers for *otium.* A *sciptorium* and *textoria* did not require permanent installations, like those found in *fullonicae* or tanneries. Their work could have been done anywhere in the shop-house, allowing them to move freely and potentially use the garden space for work.

These gardens contrast with the garden in the *Fullonica* of V. Primus. This garden was completely absorbed into a space dedicated to business-oriented functions, but it remained prominent as evident through the presence of decorative elements. Although theses gardens do not have evidence of work, it does not mean that these shop-houses did not take advantage of the space for work as other businesses certainly did. The potential of the use for the space cannot be ignored, especially since we see through the following surveys that shop-houses were taking tactical advantage of the garden spaces. Furthermore, the presence of the business does not negate the aesthetic and leisurely qualities of the gardens. Scribes or weavers could have found the garden a pleasant place for work-oriented tasks with the extra space and access to natural light, just as the gardens in the *garum*-shop or *fullonicae* would have provided an enjoyable environment for work and rest.

Conclusion

In Pompeii, when a house is retrofitted with a workshop or service industry, scholars have often assumed that the garden spaces did not maintain their original aesthetic qualities and functions. This survey has looked at the shop-houses of Regio I and Regio VI to challenge this assumption. Traditionally scholars have assumed that once these houses were 're-purposed' to house service industries and production after the earthquake of 62 CE that the garden spaces in the house, originally designed for *otium* and to advertise the status of the homeowner, were subsumed by functions related to the new business. Some production workshops, *fullonicae,* tanneries, and *garum* shops, have multiple things in common: the need of water, drainage, space, and smelly substance. The gardens of these shops already have infrastructure and space that can be used to the advantage of the business. Proprietors were taking tactical advantage of the extra space in their homes to provide more space for work and therefore more potential revenue. While it is apparent that businesses are using gardens' extra space for business-oriented functions, the garden does not always loss its aesthetic qualities.

Previously in the scholarship of ancient Rome, commerce has often been looked down on, and it has been assumed that these smelly businesses would have been seen as undesirable. The evidence of aspects connected to *otium* that are present in these gardens have been ignored simply because of its connection evidence that they were used for work, *negotium.* My survey of the shop-house gardens shows that the original *otium* found in the gardens would have offered workers a space to dine and rest. It is also evident that business owners are still invested in decorating these garden spaces, which suggests they still valued these as aesthetic spaces despite the presence of work. When a

business is incorporated into domestic space, it does not make that space purely *negotium* nor does it negate any present *otium.*

CHAPTER FOUR: MARKETING *OTIUM*: AN EVALUATION OF THE POMPEIAN COMMERCIAL GARDENS

Introduction

Commercial gardens have yet to be systematically studied in Roman garden scholarship. Using the garden catalogs that I compiled for Regio I and Regio VI, the following chapter provides a survey of commercial garden spaces that integrates relevant literary and art historical evidence into an analysis of their functions.[82] There is no clear consensus in the scholarship on what constitutes a commercial garden, so I define it as a garden clearly linked to a business, whose facilities would have been accessible to the public for a price. By applying that definition to the catalogs, I was able to identify 18 commercial gardens that I have organized into five categories: *taberna* (tavern), *caupona* (restaurant)*, hospitium* (inn), *lupanar* (brothel), and market-garden. My survey indicates that these gardens were certainly associated with various types of *negotium*, but that they also contain evidence of *otium* more often linked to elite spaces. This suggests that businessowners in Pompeii may have capitalized on their green spaces to market elite experiences to non-elite groups in Roman society.

Survey of Commercial Gardens in Pompeii

Many of the leisure activities associated with various types of elite gardens in the literary and art historical evidence are also attested in gardens found within commercial premises in Pompeii. I identified 18 gardens associated with a commercial premise:

[82] A general discussion of the garden catalogs is provided in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

market-oriented garden, *caupona*, *hospitium*, *taberna*, and *lupanar*. Although I use these terms to organize my analysis and discussion, these labels were borrowed from literature and often are uncritically applied to structures in Pompeii by modern excavators.[83] As a result, the labels have encouraged monofunctional interpretations where the archaeological record indicates that a commercial space was actually multifunctional. This tendency has contributed to the neglect in considering the role of gardens in commerce, especially within the service industry. This chapter will focus primarily on the commercial gardens identified in Group D, which has archaeological evidence of masonry *triclinia* and/or pergolas in gardens indicative of communal dining and relaxation activities. The analysis reveals that a variety of different types of businesses in Pompeii appear to have been marketing leisure activities within their garden spaces to the general public.

Survey of Market-Oriented Gardens in Regio 1

Market-gardens are gardens that have been identified in traditional scholarship as gardens with the sole function of the cultivation of produce to sell, although the archaeological evidence challenges this monofunctional interpretation.[84]

The Orchard of Felix (1.22): This large orchard has been connected to the fruit-seller Felix, whose *taberna* was only four blocks away from the orchard on the *via dell'Abbondanza* (I.8.1-2).[85] The orchard is approximately 1,852 square meters in size (Fig. XXXI). Only half the plot was excavated by Jashemski, but she predicts the garden would have originally had 300 trees. The palaeobotanical analysis and the complex

[83] Ellis 2018, 25
[84] Jashemski 1973
[85] Bergmann 2018, 291

irrigation system suggest most of these were fruit trees including apple, pear, fig, cherry, and other varieties that were planted in rows going north to south. This garden has evidence of a masonry *triclinium* in the middle of the southern portion of the garden with a masonry altar in front of the *triclinium*. The table in the *triclinium* was decorated with an ornate marble plaque. Around the *triclinium* were large olive trees to provide shade.[86] The *triclinium*, table base, and altar are still visible in the garden today.[87]

Figure XXXI: Reconstructed orchard I.22 (PIP).

The Garden of the Fugitives (I.21.6): This large market-oriented garden is located close to Felix's orchard in the southeastern region of Pompeii. It is connected to a *caupona* (I.21.2).[88] This garden is the largest in the Regio I index, approximately 1,872 square meters. There is evidence of a large masonry *triclinium* and a pergola in the middle of the garden, both positioned closer to the west wall. There is a base near the *triclinium* that

[86] Jashemski 1993, 73
[87] Jashemski 1979
[88] Although the garden is connected to a *caupona,* it is considered separate because it is not inside the *caupona.* Therefore, it is placed in the market-garden survey.

could have been used for a table or a statue. There are 11 arched niches preserved under the couches, used for storage. The condition of the garden did not permit for an extensive palaeobotanical excavation, but it appears that the trees must have been planted in rows running east to west (Fig XXXII). Around the *triclinium* were large vines, which covered the pergola. Jashemski suggests this garden was mix-cultivated, with fruit trees, vines, and decorative shrubbery.[89]

Figure XXXII: Market garden and triclinium *foundation in the Garden of the Fugitives (PIP).*

Inn of the Gladiator (I.20.1): This market-garden, which is also connected to a *caupona*, has a plot about 1,213 square meters in size. Although the plot is badly preserved, Jashemski believes it once held a vineyard and reconstructs the layout of the vines and stakes at five to six Roman feet apart, spacing that is attested in other small vineyards in the area.[90] There is also evidence that some trees, likely fruit trees, were grown on this site. The multiple *dolia* discovered in the garden may indicate that wine was also made

[89] Jashemski 1993, 69-70
[90] Jashemski 1993, 67

here. The remains of a large *triclinium* are still visible on the north side of the garden across from the pressing room and close to the entrance. A table was located in front of the couches. The couches contained fourteen niches for storage. Two decorative pools were identified behind the *triclinium* that have been suggested to have been used to raise eels or fish.[91] An altar was found behind the pressing room in the east part of the garden. The garden was originally decorated with a fresco that is no longer preserved and a statue of a large gladiator near the *triclinium* that gives the *caupona* its name: Inn of the Gladiator (Fig XXXIII).[92]

Figure XXXIII: Vineyard with statue of gladiator and dolia *in the Inn of the Gladiator (PIP).*

It seems likely that the market-gardens, the largest gardens in Regio I of Pompeii, were supplying produce to the shops and business to which they were attached. The owners' choice, however, to incorporate dining facilities into their market-gardens needs more consideration. Although it is possible that the proprietors used these facilities

[91] Jashemski 1993, 67
[92] Jashemski 1993, 67

themselves, the *triclinium* found in the orchard possibly associated with the shopkeeper Felix (I.22) appears too grand for the sole use of a shopkeeper and his family.[93] Instead, these garden dining spaces could have been rented out to customers, both to local inhabitants, who did not have their own gardens or dining spaces at home, and visitors at Pompeii, who may have come to town for a gladiatorial spectacle in the nearby amphitheater. The *triclinium* in the garden connected to the Inn of the Gladiators, for instance, could have been reserved for the use of the guests.

The palaeobotanical evidence confirms that these large market-gardens were growing the same types of fruit trees found in the garden frescoes decorating elite spaces like at the House of the Fruit Orchards, highlighting the aesthetic value of productive plants and establishing an elite association between orchards and dining activities. Instead of a simulated reality produced by high-status garden décor in exclusive elite dining rooms, the market-gardens offered non-elite customers the chance to dine in semi-seclusion in an actual orchard that is the inspiration of the elite's simulated garden. These dining venues in market-gardens open up *otium* to more of the population.

Along with dining facilities, these commercial gardens also have evidence of worship. Felix's orchard and the Inn of the Gladiator both had altars near or in proximity to the *triclinia,* but the altars provided no clues to indicate what specific god or goddess was worshipped. Although the altars were probably not used by customers, their presence in the garden advertises the piety of the business to the guests and could also have been used as a gathering place for business as well as religious contemplation.[94] Nature is

[93] See Jashemski 1979, 411 for similar argument for the use of the *triclinium* in the Garden of Hercules (II.7.6).
[94] Jashemski 1979, 411

strongly associated with the sacred and divine in Roman religion, as seen through the literary and art historical evidence discussed in Chapter One; consequently, residents of Pompeii may have viewed gardens as spaces particularly well suited for communing with the divine. Perhaps the altars served as a reminder to the guests that gardens possessed divine qualities and were sacred spaces, even in commercial settings.

Survey of Gardens in Cauponae *in Regio 1 and Regio VI*

A *Caupona* is a business that provides food and sleeping accommodations.[95] This survey shows how *cauponae* are incorporating *triclinia* into their garden spaces.

Caupona I.13.16: Regio I has one identified *caupona* that is unlike the others from Regio VI and *insulas* 20-21 in Regio I. The *caupona* at I.13.16 has evidence of a *triclinium* under a shaded structure as opposed to in the middle of the garden space, as seen in the market-garden survey. The structure is built into the northwest corner of the garden. This space has a large pillar holding up the roof, which shades a masonry *triclinium* (Fig XXXIV).

Figure XXXIV: Shaded masonry triclinium *in I.13.16 (PIP).*

[95] Ellis 2018, 26

The garden is approximately 88 square meters. The cistern in the *triclinium* also served as a table base. The walls of the *triclinium* were decorated in fresco with portraits of the goddess Venus, the patron of Pompeii, and the god Priapus, the patron of commerce and protector of fortunes. There is no evidence of an altar in the garden, but perhaps the owner revered these gods and wanted it expressed in the decoration. Jashemski identifies this garden as a small-scale vineyard.[96]

Caupona VI.1.1: The garden associated with this *caupona* is only 53 square meters in size and produced evidence of a *triclinium* and post where a pergola would have been positioned. The *triclinium* takes up most of the space in the garden in the northeast corner. There is no altar or decoration, but there is a gutter and cistern which indicate that cultivation may have happened in this garden.[97]

Caupona VI.2.3-5: This *caupona* has three garden spaces. The largest garden is around 91 square meters, the intermediate garden 50.5 square meters, and the smallest garden 35.5 square meters (Fig XXXV). The only evidence of a *triclinium* and pergola is found in the largest garden.

[96] Jashemski 1993, 58
[97] Jashemski 1993, 119

Figure XXXV: Plan of VI.2.5-3 (PIP).

The structure is in the north portion of the garden. A small pool is in the middle of the couches of the *triclinium* that contains a base for a table. A masonry altar was found in front of the *triclinium,* but there are no decorative elements to indicate what specific god or goddess may have been worshipped here. The other gardens in this *caupona* have no evidence of dining or worship.[98] None of the gardens have any palaeobotanical evidence, but the access to basic water resources through gutters and cisterns could suggests that these gardens were providing the *caupona* with some produce like herbs, vegetables. The *triclinium,* pool, and table base are still in the garden today.

The size of all three commercial gardens in this survey do not amount to the size of the two market-oriented gardens associated with *cauponae* in the survey of market-gardens. However, the evidence suggests that the *cauponae* that did not have access to

[98] Jashemski 1993, 121

large garden plots are still incorporating the garden dining experience into their businesses. Businesses incorporated *triclinia* into their garden spaces in an innovative way, providing the elite experience while maintaining the productive potential of the garden. I.13.16 shows a unique *triclinium* built into the side of the garden wall, as opposed to being built in the middle of the garden. If the *triclinium* were positioned in the middle of this garden, it would take up a good portion of the 88 square meter space and decrease the cultivation of produce. The business strategically places the structure to the side, so that it does not take away from the production of the vineyard but still permits guests to have a view of the garden while dining.

This type of structure is seen in the literary and art historical evidence. Pliny the younger describes a marble pergola to the side of his garden with large open walls or windows in order to see the garden in the shaded structure.[99] The frescoes of the House of the Fruit Orchards also incorporate a pergola structure into the wall-painting to make the audience feel as if they are looking out onto a garden through a pergola. Shaded structures provide a relaxed and comfortable experience in a hot Mediterranean climate.

The *cauponae* of Regio VI do not share this innovation, but the position of the *triclinia* suggests that businesses are willing to give up cultivated garden space to provide a garden dining experience to customers. The *triclinium* in VI.2.3-5 seems to separate the two gardens on the far east and the north side of the building, which may have once been joined in an 'L' shaped garden. The *triclinium* and pergola in VI.1.1 occupy more than half of the 53 square meters of garden space, leaving very little open green space for cultivation. The limited space of these gardens would only allow for smaller trees or

[99] Pliny the Younger *Epistulae*, 5.6.39

shrubbery to be maintained, but it is more likely the garden focused on smaller flora, herbs, and vegetables. Once again, we see that businesses are using innovative methods and strategies to provide dining facilities in their gardens, even if it decreases the amount of cultivated garden space, reflecting, perhaps, the revenue potential that garden dining had for these business-owners.

Survey of Hospitia *in Regio I and Regio VI*

A *Hospitium* is associated with lodging and dining.[100] This survey will focus on a *hospitium* that is not in the catalog because it does not have a physical garden space, but the *hospitium* has evidence of a simulated garden room in the *triclinium.* The faux garden room is not widely found in commercial settings and deserved to be discussed in order to understand the investment of the fresco in relationship to the business.

Hospitium of Saturninus (I.11.16): The *triclinium* inside the courtyard at the rear of the *hospitium* is decorated with a fresco of a dense grove on the north and east walls. While the fresco is not preserved well enough to identify the plant and wildlife, the scene mimics the styles found in the Villa of Livia and the House of the Fruit Orchards by depicting a dense garden with minimal decorative elements (Fig. XXXVI).[101] While a garden fresco would not permit customers to dine in a physical garden, the painting would not require the maintenance that a physical garden would require and is therefore more strongly associated with *otium.*

[100] Ellis 2018, 30-34
[101] Jashemski 1993, 53, 325

Figure XXXVI: Fresco from the Hospitium *of Saturninus* triclinium *(PIP).*

The catalog of Regio I has four gardens associated with *hospitia,* three of which fall into Group D. Smaller businesses do not have access to large garden spaces like the Orchard of Felix (I.22), but the gardens they do have provide enough space to prioritize activities such as dining. While smaller than market-gardens, these gardens do have palaeobotanical evidence that indicates these gardens had the potential to grow fruit and vegetables. Some gardens are smaller so that the *triclinium* takes up most of the garden space, which could suggest that these business owners were more concerned with providing the outdoor dining venue than a full garden. This was also seen in the survey of *cauponae* gardens of Regio VI. The appeal of the elite gardens not only influenced businesses to incorporate physical garden spaces but garden imagery, as well.

The *Hospitium* of Saturninus invested in the outfitting of a garden room inside their inn, emulating a real garden experience with simulated images of flora and fauna

that guests could admire while dining and relaxing inside. This reflects the trend identified in the analysis of the frescoes of the Villa of Livia and the House of the Fruit Orchards. Both private residences have access to private gardens but expand their gardens through decoration inside the house, supporting the idea that the relationship between garden and dining was a significant concept to Roman society. Businesses are doing this as well, seen in the *Hospitium* of Saturninus and the garden rooms in the *lupanar* I.11.10-11, discussed below. Businesses are investing in garden-inspired décor, also seen in the survey of shop-house gardens in Chapter Three. We see that business owners are actively invested in the décor of the garden spaces to make the environment pleasant for work and rest. The owner of this *hospitium* is also investing in his business by providing an enhanced *otium* in a faux garden room. Businesses that do not have access to their own gardens are created simulated gardens to appeal to the public. This suggests that the dining experience in the garden is attested across much of the socioeconomic spectrum. Garden dining is not exclusive to elite members of society, rather it is more widely attested in society than previously thought.

Survey of Gardens in Lupanaria *in Regio I and Regio VI*

Lupanaria are brothels, but they were also associated with the retail of food and drink.[102] This survey focuses on *Lupanaria* that incorporate different dining facilities in gardens.

Lupanar of Euxinus and Iustus (I.11.10-11): The size of this garden is approximately 270 square meters. Jashemski identifies this establishment as a *lupanar*.[103] The garden in this

[102] Ellis 2018, 7
[103] Jashemski 1979, 175

lupanar has two small rooms built onto the south wall and the east wall of the garden that are enclosed on three sides and open out towards the garden. These rooms likely served as *triclinia*, although there is no preserved evidence of a structure found in the rooms. The rooms have evidence of frescoes on the outside and inside walls that both mimic a small fence with plants behind it, but the frescoes are too poorly preserved to determine if they are in the same style found in the *Hospitium* of Saturninus. There are two altars in the garden, one to the east of the garden in front of a *lararium* and another altar in the northeast corner of the garden. A small figurine of Zeus was found near the first altar. The palaeobotanical evidence shows that the garden was dedicated mostly to grapevines, which were planted in irregular rows. Some of the *dolia* would have been dedicated to the making of wine from the grapes grown on the site.[104] Both rooms and altars are still present in the garden.

Lupanar of Aphrodite, Secunda, Nymphe, Spendusa, Veneria, Restituta, Timele (VI.11.5, 15-16): This has been identified as a *lupanar* based on erotic graffiti which also lists prices.[105] The garden is approximately 201 square meters in size. There is evidence of a masonry *triclinium* in the northwest corner of the garden. There is no preserved decoration or altars in the garden. [106]

The most interesting business-oriented gardens in this discussion are the gardens found in *lupanaria.* Gardens in *lupanaria* seem to have enough room to grow a modestly sized vineyard or orchard and still provide space dedicated to *triclinia.* The *lupanaria* in Pompeii are far from luxurious; rather, they are often dingy and cramped, but the garden

[104] Jashemski 1993, 51
[105] McGinn 2004, 275
[106] Jashemski 1993, 143

provides a large aesthetic place to dine and relax. Both businesses have different types of dining structures. The brothel at I.11.10-11 provides garden rooms to the side of the vineyards, like the structure discussed with the *caupona* I.13.16. While scholars debate the extent to which prostitution was practiced in the *caupona,* it is likely that women, enslaved and freedwomen, would have served and entertained the guests dining in the gardens.[107]

A *lupanar* may not seem very appealing to customers from the inside, but the access to a flourishing garden where one can dine with other customers and perhaps prostitutes would have made these businesses more appealing. This trend is seen even in Rome. The gardens in the portico of Pompey the Great were accessible to the public and were used to reflect the success and extent of the empire, through the presence of exotic fruit trees and other plants. Famously, the gardens were also the haunt of local prostitutes.[108] The sensual setting certainly gave prostitutes the advantage to find good business, just as the gardens in the brothels at Pompeii may have brought a competitive edge. A *lupanar* with a large, sensual garden would entice customers to return for the elite experience in a setting that is not usually considered *otium*.

Conclusion

Dining in gardens has been considered a very 'elite', luxurious experience, and is not often viewed as accessible or even affordable to the non-elite members of Roman society. Based on my survey of the commercial gardens in Regio I and Regio VI of Pompeii, the evidence indicates that various types of trades may have been marketing

[107] Laurence 1994, 79
[108] McGinn 2004, 153

otium through their gardens to benefit their business by making gardens available for non-elite customers to dine or relax. This new insight forces us to reconsider the question of accessibility of the 'elite' experiences. Gardens were not exclusive to certain members of society; rather; the use of public gardens available to a larger portion of society reflects a trend in Roman retail and an inclusiveness that challenges the central elite focus in Roman garden scholarship. Since we know that gardens in the private sphere were used to reflect the socioeconomic status of the owner, we can now start to consider what social and cultural meaning dining in the garden may have had for the non-elite customers willing to pay for the experience.

As the Roman empire expanded during the 1st c BCE to the 1st c CE, we see the elite, like Pompey and Augustus invest in their gardens within their private residence and fund public gardens as a sign of their power and popularity as well as a symbol of the success and wealth of Rome. This evaluation of commercial gardens in Pompeii suggests that by the early Imperial period, commercial establishments involved in the service industry had a significant role in democratizing garden access to a larger part of the population. As more of the population participated in the previously exclusive elite activities, the concept of *otium* in the garden become commodified and more broadly became a part of the Roman urban experience.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

This research and analysis on non-domestic gardens in Pompeii contribute to a necessary holistic approach to Roman garden scholarship. Private gardens, as well as other art historical and literary evidence, provide important insight on the value of gardens in the early Imperial period. This insight, however, is primarily offered through an elite, male lens and, therefore, does not include the experiences and opinions of the vast majority of Roman society concerning garden spaces. This limited focus has hindered our understanding of gardens that were widely accessible to the general public and often had utilitarian functions. My work highlights that a new, inclusive, and multifunctional approach to commercial gardens is needed in order to consider the role they had in shaping the urban experiences of the non-elite class.

The new methodology for typologizing garden spaces in Pompeii that my research established is flexible. The creation of the two regional catalogs presents and organizes the archaeological and art historical evidence found in gardens into five groups based on the unique or common features. The Garden reconstruction catalog organizes plants that have been identified by literary, art historical, and palaeobotanical evidence into plant types and seasons. These catalogs can be expanded, and categories further refined by the addition of new data from the other regions in Pompeii and new archaeological work. For example, epigraphic evidence such as inscriptions or graffiti found in gardens at Pompeii can be compiled in the catalogs to expand our knowledge of how Romans viewed and used garden spaces across the socioeconomic spectrum. My work shows the benefits of setting aside preconceived notions of "public" and "private", "elite" and "commercial", *otium* and *negotium*, and instead to allow the art and

archaeological evidence in the gardens to guide interpretations of functions, activities, and plant life.

Surveying the evidence within the garden catalogs revealed that commercial and productive spaces cut across categories and share many similar features with gardens associated with private elite houses. While the elite peristyle garden has received a lot of attention in scholarship, the role of gardens played in shops and workshops has never been carefully studied until now. My evaluation on these overlooked commercial and workshop gardens in this thesis contributes to a more holistic understanding of the urban experience in Roman society by focusing on how the non-elite used and incorporated gardens into their businesses.

The shop-house survey reflects that these businesses were taking advantage of garden spaces for *otium* and *negotium*. Since these gardens are connected to shop-houses, their connection to *otium* have been ignored in scholarship. My analysis of the shop-houses challenges the assumption that gardens were no longer considered aesthetically valuable after being affiliated with a business. The decorative elements maintained in the gardens suggest that business owners were investing in the gardens' visual appeal to make the environment pleasant for work and rest. Furthermore, owners were being tactical in using the extra space to provide more room for work, but the presence of work does not negate the *otium* associated with the garden space.

My research also reflects that commercial gardens were combining elements of *otium* and *negotium*. Influenced by the elite garden experience, businesses in Pompeii incorporated gardens and garden-themed decoration into their premises to market an affordable elite-garden-experience to non-elite consumers. This suggests that while *otium*

in the garden may have started as an elite status symbol, different socioeconomic classes in Roman society were able to access and enjoy leisure activities in garden spaces by the 1st c CE. Consequently, the elite experience in the garden became a hallmark of Roman urban culture. These surveys make it clear that this new approach to Roman gardens in scholarship is necessary to understand the values and opinions that all members of society had regarding these spaces.

My research emphasizes that gardens were not reserved only for the elites in Roman society. The construction of large public garden spaces attested at Rome starting in the late republic and continuing under Augustus helped democratize garden access to a larger part of the population.[109] We can see this trend in our own urban culture. Cities and neighborhoods are intentionally incorporating green spaces, such as community gardens, playgrounds, and dog parks, into their landscape that are accessible and pleasurable for everyone.[110] My research argues that this shift is also visible in the topography of Pompeii. Over the course of the 1st c CE, shops and workshops started to incorporate gardens and garden décor into their premises, providing accessible leisure and other activities associated with *otium* in garden spaces to non-elite groups in society. The use of these catalogs, through the virtual reconstruction of Pompeian gardens in the Virtual Pompeii Project and through the continual research in Roman garden scholarship, will assist in exploring the socio-cultural meaning of these non-domestic gardens for different groups within Roman society. In the future, the reconstruction of commercial gardens

[109] Russell 2016
[110] Wolf 2017

could help us better understand how these spaces were used and experienced by lower economic and socially marginalized groups in Roman society.

Appendix:

Hyperlinks to catalogs

Regio I Garden Catalog:
https://drive.google.com/file/d/1HpwMkvxD77RVElvDgg7h9dZUfZfi9OwT/view?usp=sharing

Regio VI Garden Catalog: https://drive.google.com/file/d/15lfm-9VOSk5EcaL3ijidf4g8UUPTdawg/view?usp=sharing

Garden Reconstruction Catalog: https://drive.google.com/file/d/1Ye2ALM8R-X5tCqoE8nG3QIxBefyjsQ3Z/view?usp=sharing

Hyperlinks to online resources

Gardens of the Roman Empire, accessed April 28, 2021, https://roman-gardens.github.io/

Pompeii In Pictures, accessed April 28, 2021,
https://pompeiiinpictures.com/pompeiiinpictures/index.htm

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